



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

ARCH LIBRARIES



07593596 9



SFC

Press

35
Helen P.S.
11/17/22
C. L. L.

Questions of Socialists and Their Answers

BY

WILLIAM STEPHENS KRESS

PRIEST OF THE OHIO APOSTOLATE



1. Socialism
E.D

Questions of Socialists and Their Answers

BY
WILLIAM STEPHENS KRESS

Priest of the Ohio Apostolate

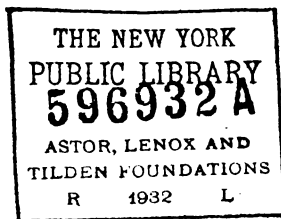
SECOND EDITION
REVISED AND ENLARGED
TWENTIETH THOUSAND
1908



PRICE, TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

THE OHIO APOSTOLATE
6914 WOODLAND AVENUE, SOUTH EAST
CLEVELAND, OHIO

1908-7
CB



Copyright, 1905, 1908 by
WILLIAM STEPHENS KRESS

WILLIAM STEPHENS KRESS
1905 1908
Y1A9B1

CHAPTERS

1. Socialist Tactics.
11 - 32.
2. Socialist Philosophy.
33 - 55.
3. Socialist Ethics.
56 - 74.
4. Socialists and Confiscation.
75 - 95.
5. Socialists and Religion.
96 - 119.
6. Socialists and the Family.
120 - 133.
7. Socialists and Education.
134 - 141.
8. The New State.
142 - 167.
9. Socialists and Labor Unions.
168 - 187.
10. Labor's Share.
188 - 205.

January 17th, 1908.

IMPRIMATUR,
†IGN. F. HORSTMANN,
Bishop of Cleveland



INTRODUCTION TO THE FIRST EDITION

BY HIS GRACE, THE ARCHBISHOP OF MILWAUKEE

The following pages are to a great extent the outcome of the "Question Box," of which the reverend author availed himself when, last January, he gave a course of lectures on "Socialism" in the city of Milwaukee. The lectures attracted a great deal of attention. For weeks after he had left the city, Rev. W. S. Kress kept up a lively controversy in *The Journal* and *The Daily News*, of Milwaukee, with some of the leading Socialists. Both the lectures given in the churches and the articles published in the press created a deep interest in the discussion of Socialism. The Catholic County Federation of Milwaukee, with the kind permission of the lecturer, published his lectures in pamphlet form for practically free distribution. But there was also a great demand for his "Question Box," and I am delighted to see in this book the kind answer to our request. For I believe that these "Socialist Questions and Answers," if carefully read, will do very much good among our people, especially among the laboring men. To the man without a higher education and the man of only few leisure hours, the form of questions and answers, and the simple and straightforward manner of the author's replies, will ap-

peal more quickly than a set treatise. The somewhat loose and unconnected sequence of the "Questions" preserves the natural and popular character of the open discussion and leaves room for many a useful repetition of the same subject under a different form. In the difficult treatment of Socialism a systematic discussion with strictly logical sequence is very profitable for the mind trained in the intellectual arena; the ordinary man will better enjoy and more easily follow the plain, free and somewhat rambling talk.

Another excellent feature of the book is its frequent reference to Socialistic sources for establishing the true nature and purpose of Socialism. In this connection it is important to observe that the true meaning of the Socialistic platforms must be learned thru the common interpretation given them by the Socialists themselves. Just as the Bible, the divine platform; just as our Constitution, the great United States platform; just as the platform of our great political bodies, the Republican and the Democratic parties, reveal their true meaning and real significance thru the authoritative interpretation given especially by the Church, the United States Supreme Court, the party leaders, so must the true understanding of the Socialistic platform be learned from the writings and speeches of the acknowledged leaders and teachers of Socialism, and from the expressions of their recognized press organs. A mere reference to the letter of their platforms will not always suffice to establish their real aim. In the light of Socialist interpretation in word and deed such phrases in their platforms as "Religion is the private affair of the individual," "Marriage must be founded on love," "Woman is equal to man," and others, phrases

quite true in a certain sense, acquire a meaning contrary alike to natural and divine law.

In judging of Socialism it is also important to keep in view that Socialism is a well-planned system of economical, social and political doctrines, which may justly be called Socialistic philosophy. Of these doctrines many touch upon most important religious and moral questions. By their very nature these Socialistic problems affect religion and morality. It will suffice to mention the all-important topics of church and state, religion and society, liberty of worship, marriage and the family, the education of children, the right of private property, the natural and inalienable rights of the individual, civil authority and government, to show how false, dishonest and absurd is the claim of so many Socialists that their system is exclusively concerned with matters of pure economy, or political and social economy. In this pretense that Socialism deals only with purely economic questions and has absolutely nothing to do with principles of religion and morality lies one of the greatest dangers to the great mass of our common people. This danger is so much greater when we are told that the one object of Socialism is to better the economic condition of the laboring classes without any mention of the true nature of the means by which the change is to be brought about or of the new form of society into which the laborer is to be introduced. Our ordinary people have not the necessary intellectual training required in the discussion of these great Socialistic theories to detect the underlying principles and their necessary consequences or results. It is no easy matter to see thru their tactics, tricks and sophistical sleight-of-hand. I believe that in this very regard the

present book will be of great service, as it shows up in a popular and often startling manner the usual fallacies of Socialistic arguments.

The book of Father Kress has, in its simple way, to perform a great mission in guarding our people against the snares and wiles of Socialism. The more widely it is read and circulated, the more good it is bound to accomplish.

S. G. MESSMER.

Milwaukee, Wis., Oct. 23, 1905.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This booklet was written at the request of the Archbishop of Milwaukee and many others. We consider its chief value to lie in the questions rather than in their answers, as the former reveal, perhaps, better than anything else could, Socialist minds, temper and aims. The questions, which are all genuine, were propounded to the author in many localities, chiefly, however, in the states of Wisconsin, Ohio, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Indiana and Idaho.

THE AUTHOR.

SOCIALIST TACTICS

"Who told you that Socialism means to divide up?"

I have not said that it does. Socialism is one of those inconvenient words that mean different things to different people. Anarchists call themselves Socialists, and in Germany, Belgium, France, England and the United States political parties and economic societies have called themselves Evangelical Socialists, Social Christians, Catholic Socialists and Christian Socialists. Yet Anarchist and Christian are as far apart as night and day. As first used by Robert Owen, an Englishman, in 1835, Socialism signified a theory of social improvement, that was intended to accomplish its purpose without recourse to politics. The same word was employed by Continental writers, who, however, aimed at political reconstruction, maintaining that the object which Socialists had in view could never be reached, except in a radical change of present politico-social forms. As the word is commonly used in our own country, it excludes such European political societies as Evangelical and Christian Socialists, and narrows its designation to those who affiliate with either the Socialist party (known in New York, Wisconsin and a few other states as the Social Democratic party) or the Socialist Labor party. In constructing their platforms Socialists lay particular stress upon the economic feature of the reform they wish to introduce. They keep certain views on religion, marriage, etc., in the background, for fear of creating unnecessary opposition. They promise to give everyone in the community a good living, a pleasant home and to furnish him with more material comforts than most people enjoy now—all for

much less work than the average man is obliged to perform at present. Socialists differ from all other reformers in that they despair of our present industrial and political systems. Nothing short of a revolutionary change in our social forms, they hold, can bring about the desired result. Says the Chicago (1904) platform: "Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the Socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has been directed to the conscious organization of society." C. D. Wright (Wilshire's, July, 1903) holds a different view: "Socialism is not a vital principle; it is not a constructive force, it has no justice, no progress, no humanity." The Chicago platform is rather insistent that greater individual liberty will follow the adoption of Socialism: "We, the Socialist party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact." Somewhat different is the judgment of an intelligent observer, Professor Robert Ellis Thompson: "Americans love freedom too keenly to fall back upon social arrangements which run counter to its exercise, and from which our forefathers emerged through ages of effort to establish personal freedom. Socialism may disguise its character as the enemy of liberty while at a distance, and viewed in its abstract principles. But

seen close at hand, it reveals its ugliness, and its antipathy to what Americans have always most valued." Bishop Spalding agrees with Thompson (*Socialism and Labor*, p. 19): "Socialism, if practical at all, can succeed only by controlling and regulating all the affairs of life, by turning the whole nation into an industrial army, where each one is under orders to keep the peace and do the duties assigned him." The learned bishop has wisely inserted the proviso: "if practical at all;" for everyone must know that an army on the democratic principle is a sheer impossibility.

Socialist writers generally gloat over every calamity, catastrophe, business failure, labor trouble, etc., ascribing each to the viciousness of the organization under which we are living, and promising a remedy for all in Socialism. How would they accomplish this? By turning over to the state absolutely all the means of production and distribution. According to the definition of the Chicago (1904) platform, "Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men." The state, or Co-operative Commonwealth, employing all labor, will fix the corresponding remuneration, as also the price of products. In a few more years, they tell us, half a dozen multi-millionaires may control the business of the country and one billionaire dominate them all. The Socialist is not opposed to trusts and monopolies, for the reason that he believes they are doing the

more difficult work of combining the small industries, and that it will be comparatively easy, when the time is ripe for it, to transfer their half dozen holdings to the Government, and to place the billionaire's power in the hands of a president or administrator. That fulness of time will arrive, they tell us, when tyranny and exaction have roused the public to action. We enjoy universal suffrage, is their argument, and universal suffrage demands as its complement universal well being; for, they say, "Is it not a contradiction that a people should be sovereign and at the same time wretched?" (DeLaveleye in *Le Socialisme Contemporain*.)

They expect to bring about their revolutionary change by ballot if possible; by violence, if necessary. They are hopeful of ultimate success. They rely upon the enemy to do a great part of their campaign work, and it must be admitted that some of our very rich men are doing as much to make Socialism succeed as are the Socialists themselves. We are assured by Socialists that when society has taken possession of all the means and instruments of production and likewise of the distribution of goods, then the sword that guards the portal of Paradise will be sheathed and the human family will enter upon a millennium of peace, contentment, comfort and happiness. Mankind will take possession of its own and the reign of brotherly love will have begun in earnest. Christ's command, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you," will be the real, not merely the ideal, motto of the New Kingdom. The Socialist theory looks attractive on paper, but does not work out so well, unfortunately, when one begins to draw up definite plans and specifications.

"Have not Socialists very good reason for wishing to reform society, since capitalism has proved so unjust to the wage-earner?"

There are inequalities, no doubt, that cry out for adjustment; but they can be adjusted without overturning the civilization that has been so many tens of centuries in the making. "The Socialist party," according to a statement of its one-time standard bearer, E. V. Debs, in the Social-Democratic Herald of Milwaukee, January 14, 1905, "is a party of revolution, not of reform; it stands for the revolutionary idea of collective ownership of the means of wealth production and the overthrow of the wage system; no reform of the present order of society, however radical or sweeping it may be claimed to be, will satisfy its class-conscious supporters."

Allowing for the existence of a certain percentage of just grievances, is there any country in the world where less cause is given for social unrest than in our own? There is, comparatively speaking, little destitution in the United States, and of what there is much has been self-inflicted thru shiftlessness or intemperance, or both combined. [It is the judgment of Henry Wood (The Political Economy of Natural Law, p. 141) that nine-tenths of the poverty, misery and degradation in our country is caused by intemperance, vice and crime. In the poor tenement districts of New York City there was one saloon to every thirty-eight families a few years ago. The outlay for drink averaged 37 cents per day for each family. (F. O. Willey, The Laborer and the Capitalist, p. 180). If this money were saved and put out at interest it would purchase a comfortable home in a dozen years, amounting to nearly \$1,900 at 4 per cent. There was one saloon to every 310 of population in the United States, and more

money, I am sure, was spent upon intoxicating drink by many of their patrons than for food, rent and clothing combined. It is estimated that fully \$500,000,000 was spent in drink by wage-earners in the United States in 1904. Investigators found that 42 per cent. of the residents in bad tenements in Boston live where they do because of intemperance. Carroll D. Wright was detailed upon an investigation in a very poor district on one occasion. "So far as my own observation goes," he said, "drunkenness was at the bottom of the misery, and not the industrial system." (Willey, *Ib.* p. 306.) Recent disclosures have revealed many squalid tenements in New York City, but we must bear in mind that these are made both possible and profitable by the propensity of recent foreign arrivals to herd together. A number of rich Jews, some years back, under the leadership of Felix Adler, tried to better the condition of their poor co-religionists, but could accomplish little thru the indisposition of these latter to profit by their helps and suggestions.

Besides drink, a lack of thrift and foresight is oftentimes the cause of momentary want. Gaylord Wilshire, a revolutionary Socialist, while traveling in Europe, had the courage to publish in his magazine (November, 1903): "The European laborer, getting such low wages and at the same time paying such high prices for food, still keeps himself and family in as good, if not better, physical condition than the American, and quite as well dressed, who, with twice or three times the wages, has practically no margin for saving."

Then again the cause of destitution is often pure laziness. In the hard times of '93, out of 2,000 who applied for help at one of the supply stations in Chicago, only 450 would accept work. Except in seasons of stress there is

work for willing hands in country and town and the wages paid are uniformly higher than in other countries. There is easy opportunity of passing from one field of labor to another and of improving one's condition or place of domicile. Besides this, the making of the laws is in our own hands, as well as the selection of the officers charged with their administration. If the community at large is agreed that a correction should be made, it can make its will effective. While the wealth of the very rich has been growing enormously, the condition of the laboring classes has also been steadily improving. Yet, in spite of all, there is a marked degree of unrest among the laboring classes and the discontent is being fomented by Socialist agitators. /

In an address at the Alleghany Chautauqua, Cumberland, Md., on August 12, 1906, Secretary Charles J. Bonaparte made the following very sensible remark: "American public opinion should recognize the utter emptiness, the inherent folly of all ready-made, furnished-while-you-wait schemes for the social regeneration of mankind. Civilized society, as it exists today, if it be noting more, is the outcome of all the strivings for justice and happiness of the human race during thousands of years."

"Why is the Catholic clergy opposed to Socialism?"

If Socialism were a purely economic movement, giving definite promise that no natural or divine right should be invaded, including the right of parents to educate their own children, the right of every individual to worship God according to conscience's dictate, together with all that such right implies: clergy, churches, freedom of ecclesiastical education and government, and freedom of religious association, the sacredness and permanence

of the marriage relation; and full compensation for all property that is to be confiscated; then no objection could or would be raised by the Catholic clergy on religious grounds. They might still oppose Socialism as an impractical economic measure; but they would have no right to use the pulpit for this purpose nor to forbid their people under penalty of spiritual censures from arraying themselves with the Socialist party.

The Socialist party has given none of the promises asked for; on the contrary thru its endorsement of the united thought and action of International Socialism and the outspoken declarations of its accredited organs and acknowledged leaders we are given plainly to understand that their opposites will be enforced.

"You denied that Socialism is a purely economic movement and I just as emphatically maintain that it is."

I denied it, of course. Socialists are all agreed that there must be an entire reconstruction of our present socio-political forms to make the introduction of the Co-operative Commonwealth possible. Says Thomas Kirkup in "An Inquiry into Socialism" (preface): "Tho the essence of Socialism is economic, the subject has an interest much wider. It is a human question intimately connected with the moral, social and political development of the present time."

Some persons say that religion has no place in a discussion of the labor problem, as if nothing more were involved in this great inquiry than the amount of a day's wages and the extent of a day's work. A higher and more intimate relation intervenes between men than that of employer and employee, namely, the brotherhood of the children of God. There is an epistle in the New Testament that is not often quoted—St. Paul's letter to

Philemon. When reading it we may have felt some surprise that it should have been incorporated among the inspired writings. It seems to teach no new doctrine; it is but an ordinary letter, written by the great Apostle and put into the hands of a slave, who had escaped from his bonds. The Apostle bids him go back to his master and deliver his letter to him. In that letter he beseeches his friend Philemon that he receive Onesimus, the escaped slave, "not now as a servant, but instead as a most dear brother." If the relation were merely that of employer and employed, it might borrow, as remarked by Col. Wright, its working formula from David Harum: "Do unto the other fellow, as you think the other fellow is going to do unto you, and do it first." But the motto of the real relation was proclaimed by Christ: "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you."

"You go out of your province as a priest of religion, enter politics and attack an economic movement, taking the side of capitalism against the working man."

Here are four charges and each charge is false.

"I protest against your insinuations that the Socialists are insincere, that the platform is a mere vote-catcher, that the party as such is an advocate of irreligion and greater laxity of the marriage relation or that it seeks to disrupt the home. If you really believe that the Socialists are guilty of the things you charge them with, opportunity will be given you to verify your statements in a discussion with some member of the party. A true Socialist."

I have made no insinuations, my charges were explicit and direct. Socialists would prefer, no doubt, that we confine ourselves wholly to a discussion of the

economic phase of Socialism, but some of us are more concerned about its effect on morals than on economic conditions. The rights of God, we believe, are superior to the rights of men. The latter will never prove more than an empty phrase, if the former are disregarded. Others besides ourselves are sure to ask: **[**“Is the Socialist state to be Christian; will Christian morality prevail?”**]** The Socialist platforms give us some information on this point, but not as much as we have a right to know. We turn to the leaders and party organs for further information and both one and the other tell us that the Socialistic state will begin its existence by wholesale robbery, that an atheistic education will be forced upon all children, that marriage will be entered into and broken off by mere consent of the cohabitators, etc. If the leaders do not truthfully represent the Socialist party, the latter has not seen fit to repudiate them; on the contrary has given them the places of honor on all occasions. If the newspapers are bearing false witness, Socialists are not raising their voices against their party organs; on the contrary are giving the most outspoken of them their most loyal support.

The fact of the matter is “True Socialist” has either been misled himself (which is true of a good many who call themselves Socialists), or he is trying to mislead us. I am pleased with his emphatic repudiation of irreligion and free love; which shows that he has a sound heart. Now let him be true to his better instincts and get out of a party that has gone on record as advocating the destruction of the family and the violation of the Commandments.

Is a joint discussion necessary for a verification of my statements? I am indicating page, book and author :

This is the point. asminety.

if any one doubt the genuineness of my citations let him look them up for himself. Should one or the other wish to learn more on these subjects let him consult David Goldstein's "Socialism: the Nation of Fatherless Children" (price 50 cents), for valuable data.

"Should we not, as good Christians and citizens, select the priest as our adviser in politics and learn from him how to cast our votes?"

This question, it is plain, was not asked by a Catholic, since Catholics know that priests do not meddle in politics. From no pulpit are politics, as such, more rigidly excluded than from the Catholic pulpit. If, however, a question of morals be injected into the political issue, it becomes the priest's duty to warn his flock against the danger and to urge support of the right side. /

"Whoever opposes Socialism upholds capitalism, and he that upholds capitalism defends the robbing of the people, the corrupting of our cities, the debauching of our legislatures, the enslaving of children and the ravishing of womanhood."

There would be just as much sense in saying, "Mr. Smith defends all the open and hidden crimes that are committed in houses, for he defends the right of man to live in a house." To defend the right of private property in the means of production or the right to make and sell goods for profit, or the right to accept interest or rent for the use of one's money or property is one thing; to defend robbery, corruption, cruelty and licentiousness is a different matter altogether, and the latter is by no means included in or conditioned upon the former. 2

"How do you account for the fact that there are 1,000,000 Christian Socialists in Germany, under the lead-

provision. The issue is not 'the right to accept' but

ership of Archbishop Von Ketteler? They differ only in matter of tactics from Social Democrats, but accept the philosophy of Karl Marx. It was in the Catholic kingdom of Saxony that the greatest Socialist gains were made in the recent election in Germany."

The above is a fair sample of how Socialists juggle facts and figures. Archbishop Von Ketteler died July 13, 1877. German Catholics belong to the Center party and have no affiliation with the Social Democrats. They do not accept the philosophy of Karl Marx: if they did they would know that they could not be Catholics. Some German Protestants of the school of Rudolph Todt and Dr. Adolph Stoecker, call themselves the Christian Social party; but they accept neither the Socialism of the Social Democrats, nor the Marxian philosophy. Saxony, far from being Catholic, is the most Protestant principality of Germany.

"Socialism does not condemn Christianity, but insists that man's material wants are of primary importance. Christianity needs to be improved and Socialism will improve it."

How grateful Christians ought to feel toward Socialists for their good will. Christianity insists that man's material wants, while necessary, are not, for all that, of the first importance; they are the lowest; his spiritual wants are the highest. Christianity is a God-given religion and cannot be improved upon by the "Savior of Treves"—Karl Marx nor by his followers, ministerial or lay.

"The pretense that the clergy are protecting Christ's religion against the Social Democracy will not go. The

Roman Catholic clergy are simply defending their share of capitalistic wealth against possible danger."

So it is admitted that there may be stealing of other people's wealth and that the property of the Church is in possible danger! Does not this point to a double duty on our part—that of denouncing stealing and of warning against the probable enslavement of the Church?

Let me present, by way of contrast to your own, the view of a learned professor of sociology on the same subject. Dr. Wm. J. Kerby, of the Catholic University of America, writes (*American Catholic Quarterly Review*, April, 1903): "There is very much in the facts, tendencies and principles of the social order of today which the Catholic Church must repudiate and even condemn. In spite of all in modern life that is against her, in spite of governments and principles and tendencies, the Church appears as the defender of this social order, stands against Socialism, the enemy of this order, and demands sanction for law, respect for authority and protection for institutions, without thought of resentment or motive of gain, without commission from those she would save or reward from those she would serve. Uninfluenced by what is undeniably attractive in Socialism and undeterred by what is unmistakably against her in the present order, she is animated by a conviction that transcends both and looks to the ethical and spiritual beyond."

"The Socialism you attack is the radical Socialism of Europe. Our aims and principles are widely different."

Permit me to quote the editor of *Appeal to Reason*, January 21, 1905: "A reader asks me what's the difference between German Socialism and American Socialism. Exactly the same difference that there is between the

multiplication table printed in German and the multiplication table printed in English."

"It is a motto of the party to 'make Socialists' rather than get votes, for a vote does not count unless the voter knows what he is voting for."

I wonder if the pupils find it as difficult to pin their teachers down to definite statements as do the rest of us? To an outsider it looks as if the motto were: "Get votes in whatever way you can. Tell the workingmen that all the means of production and distribution will be turned over to the community, but say to the small storekeepers and to the farmers that only the trusts and large estates will be confiscated; tell the business men that they will be fully compensated for their losses, but say to the masses that the former have no right in equity or justice to one cent of compensation; say with Rev. C. D. Thompson 'our movement is Christian,' or say with V. L. Berger 'it has no more to do with religion than has chemistry'; or if it suits better, say with Liebknecht 'no one is worthy the name of Socialist who does not consecrate himself to the spread of atheism.'" "Socialism," I was told on one occasion, "is not narrow." It is not; it does not even acknowledge the limitation of truth.

"You favor unions, why then do you object to a union of all unions—a brotherhood of all mankind—which is all that Social Democracy means? You have painted a very black picture out of some weak points; Social Democrats are only men after all; why not be fair and also call attention to the good points, of which you no doubt know? They more than balance the weak ones, which is more than can be said of the principles of the other parties."

Having not stated specifically the means of enforcement will let it stand, but where is the proof for the statement 'to steal'?

The ultimate aim of Social Democrats—to better the condition of the toiler and lessen the gross inequalities existing in society today—is commendable. That is our aim, however, no less than theirs. They propose to attain their end thru dishonest and impracticable means; we thru practicable and legitimate means. A good end does not justify the employment of bad means, whether by society or individuals. I might retort upon my questioner and ask why do Social Democrats point out only the evils of our present industrial system? Why do they not also call attention to the good points, of which they no doubt know? They are often illogical as well as unfair, charging capitalism with crimes for which it is in no way responsible. We have avoided all such unfairness; we are combating a system and the evils inherent in the system. We are not mistaking individuals for the system; we are not, for instance, calling Socialism dishonest or atheistic because we know of some thieves and atheists in the party; but because the party as such has adopted and made its own the declarations and writings of individuals, who maintain that Socialism means to steal all lucrative properties and to enforce atheism. No possible good that the Co-operative Commonwealth could bring would compensate us for the loss of these two things alone, honesty and the Christian faith.

“Why do you wish to perpetuate inequalities between members of the same family; or do you deny that we are brothers?”

One of the erroneous notions of Socialism is that the inequality existing between rich and poor is intrinsically and essentially wrong. They do not scruple to use hard words when speaking of the wealthy, calling them robbers and even murderers; often speaking of themselves

as wage slaves, their shops as slaughter-houses, their condition as white slavery, their surroundings as hell on earth. They speak as if equality in all other things were the rule and inequality in wealth the exception; whereas, the very opposite is true.

Inequality prevails everywhere; nor does it merely follow in the wake of man's perversity. There is inequality where man exerts no control whatever. See what a difference exists in that which is more valuable than gold and silver—in bodily health. Rockefeller's millions, if we can trust newspaper reports, will not afford him the enjoyment of one good hearty meal. Perhaps he would be quite willing to exchange the bulk of his immense fortune for a dock laborer's stomach. No two men are alike in physical gifts; one is strong, the other weak; one robust, the other delicate; one young, the other old. One man is graceful, the other clumsy; one attractive, another repulsive. What a diversity in mental endowments! One shrewd, the other stupid; of men having the very same opportunities one will be well informed, the other ignorant; on one hand an Aristotle, Shakespeare, Emerson, at the other end of the scale an illiterate trench digger or prosaic ore shoveler. One man is energetic, resourceful and strong of will; another timid, vacillating, indolent, without plan or ambition. No two animals are alike. No two organisms in all of God's creation are identical. Now no one finds fault with or is discontented because of these various inequalities; only in the possession of wealth alone is inequality looked upon as intrinsically wrong and not to be endured. And yet the differences in wealth are largely the result of the differences mentioned above.

Now nothing can be more true than that every man

has a right to provide a living for himself and family; but when Socialists speak of equal rights to the means of subsistence they include more under that term than the term itself signifies or other undoubted rights permit. It is not at all necessary that all land and all active capital be turned over to a collective ownership, in order that all may secure a living therefrom. We now possess equality before the law; the law providing all an equal possibility of acquiring wealth, in so far as any law can do so where liberty is valued equally with equality.

There is cause, no doubt, to deplore the notoriously unequal distribution of the joint fruit of capital and labor in some industries; but even when all these are corrected inequalities will still exist. "It is impossible," says Leo XIII., "to reduce civil society to one dead level." Nor would it be desirable. It is not at all likely that we shall see the day when the last vestige of poverty shall have wholly disappeared. Christ says "the poor you have always with you." Poverty is no bar to the acquisition of the goal for which man has been created; on the contrary, it is more helpful for the gaining of life everlasting than is wealth; for great riches are a hindrance, not a help. As Christians we are aware, not only of God's existence, but of His Fatherly care for His creatures. We are taught to look upon our present state, with its accompanying miseries and hardships, as the penalty of sin. Man's sojourn on earth is his time of probation. The angels had their trial, now he has his. And if there be no cross there will be no crown. We have the strongest motive for patient endurance in the promise of Scripture: "If we suffer with Christ we shall also reign with Christ." Endowed with the knowledge of his destiny and imbued with supernatural faith, the Christian earns,

not a mere beggarly wage that can be expressed in dollars and cents, but merit that will help him to gain supreme and unending happiness in the real life beyond the grave.

It has been suggested that the only effective means of conquering Socialism, or of putting an end to social discontent, is by improving social conditions. Let that by all means be our constant endeavor; for there are many inequalities that need to be corrected. Contentment, however, and happiness, it is well to remember, are moral qualities, which no mere material plenty can supply. Brockton, Mass., the famous shoe town, has no submerged tenth; has not a hovel or poor tenement within its wide limits; its wage-earners work in well-appointed and clean factories, have short hours, and receive exceptionally good wages. I found more discontent there than in any town I have ever visited.

There is one sovereign remedy for the cure of social discontent. Bring about a re-awakening of that faith which will make the poor more content and the rich more considerate. Religion is so necessary that Voltaire declared a god would have to be created, if none existed, in order to hold the human family in restraint. Religion is to society what its hoops of steel are to the cask. The shield of faith alone can protect us against the red hand of anarchy or the clenched fist of lawlessness. Socialists and all other would-be world-menders make a serious mistake when they fail to realize that no economic or social system that the cleverest of men can invent will prove a success, unless an improvement be effected in men themselves. First of all make men better. In moral renovation is to be found the source of all true progress. Men being what they are, no legislation, no

amount of state supervision, no mere environment is going to make the miser generous, or the idler industrious, or the dishonest honest, or the proud humble, or the improvident provident, nor will it convert the drunkard, the gambler, the libertine, the highwayman, the tramp. These are evils that can be eradicated only from within, not from without, and yet they need to be eradicated if there is to be genuine and enduring progress.

"Is not the beggar as welcome in the Catholic Church as the millionaire? If so, why do the clergy take up the rich man's cause, when Christ was on the poor man's side?"

Yes, the beggar has the same right in the Catholic Church as the millionaire; a better right, if the latter's hands are not clean. The Catholic clergy do not take up the rich man's cause; they take up the poor man's cause when they oppose Socialism.

"It will be new to a good many Catholic Socialists in this country to learn that the true spirit of their church is opposed to the abolition of wage-slavery. Archbishop Messmer has engendered a class struggle in his own church."

The questioner has copied this (substituting "Archbishop Messmer" for "The Pope") from a tract written by Ernest Untermann, who can coo like a dove when his purpose is to mislead Catholics, and roar like a lion when he is in the Socialist jungles. He knows better than most others why Catholic bishops and priests oppose Socialism. This same writer tells us in one pamphlet ("Religion and Politics") that Socialism is a purely economic movement, while in another ("Labor and Capital," April, 1903) he says that all active capital is to be

1/Unterm.

stolen, and in still another communication ("Appeal to Reason," February 21, 1903) informs us that a Socialist's profession of faith includes the denial of God and the rejection of all religious dogmas.

The Catholic Church is neither pledged nor opposed to the wage system. That is an economic detail and has no bearing whatever upon morals. A Catholic bishop (J. L. Spalding) says: "One does not have to be a poet or a prophet to see that society in the future will be complex and various, yet free and orderly—unstained by the crimes that Capitalism has no doubt perpetrated, and yet untainted with the deepest stigma that would result from the atrophy of independence under a Socialist regime."

To accept pay or wages for the work a man performs, it might be added, does not constitute slavery.

"It is often charged that the Social Democrats are enemies of religion, but this is a gross untruth."

This sentence has also been copied from Untermann's leaflet, "Religion and Politics," which was distributed anonymously in Milwaukee. In "Appeal to Reason," February 21, 1903, the same writer gives what he calls "A Socialist's Confession of Faith," in which he tells us that religious dogma is an evidence of undeveloped thought. "Religious dogma is a survival of the childhood of the race," he says, "when man bowed in fear and superstition to the unknown forces of nature. . . . If a Supreme Being created this world in the beginning and then left us to ourselves, because we refused to submit to a divine tyrant, so much the worse for him. We have managed to struggle along without his help so long and can also rise higher without him in the future." This and other blasphemous utterances of the

one-time associate editor were made prominent by leaded spaces.

Socialist leaders and papers generally are doing all in their power to destroy what Christian faith may still be left in the hearts of their followers, and yet the worst offenders among them have the hardihood to tell us, in the language of Untermann, that Socialism has as little to do with religion as the question whether the earth is round or flat. Henry George knew of what he was speaking when he said "Modern Socialism is without religion and its tendency is atheistic" (*The Science of Political Economy*, p. 198).

Bebel is thought to know Socialism as well, if not better than any other living man, and he says: "Christianity and Socialism stand toward each other as fire and water" (*Christentum und Sozialismus*, p. 16).

"Are you satisfied with yourself that the way you explain Socialism is the truth, and that you are getting people to look at it in the way you express it?"

My knowledge of Socialism is derived from friendly sources chiefly; from platforms, Socialist newspapers, pamphlets, tracts and mission questions. I am addressing intelligent people, I trust; I do not ask them to accept my presentation without further inquiry. I am not presenting my own views; nor indeed, some abnormal personal view of this or that individual as the belief of Socialists generally.

Socialist organizers frequently misrepresent the true teachings of Socialism; they trim their sails to the prevailing wind. This is the case notably in Wisconsin, where a state organizer informs the public that Socialism will permit private and parochial schools, tho he knows that the platforms of his party have declared otherwise.

Another says that Socialism means to make compensation for all it takes ; another that Socialists mean to take over only the principal means of production, etc. The C. H. Kerr & Co., of Chicago, a Socialist publishing house, has special pamphlets for ministers, others for unbelievers, farmers, etc., a tactic that is followed by other purveyors of Socialistic literature.

SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY

"You ask for a detailed account of the Socialist state. Can you give an account of the capitalistic state fifty years hence? Can the wisest of men tell us what an automobile will be like fifty years from now? An attempt to describe in all its details the coming Co-operative Commonwealth would be highly unscientific."

I have not asked anyone to describe what will take place fifty years from now. Socialists tell us that they have a cure-all for society's ills in the Co-operative Commonwealth and we ask them to point out how the Co-operative Commonwealth can better the condition of the working people; we ask them to submit their plans in detail so that we may judge of the feasibility or practicability of Socialism; we ask for something more definite than vague generalities and empty promises. We are advised to tear down our present socio-political fabric; but we wish to know first of all what is to replace it. Are Socialists working without a plan? Assuredly not: why then will they not attempt to demonstrate its practicability? Because they know that the folly of their proposal will become apparent to the least intelligent of their followers the moment they begin to forecast the Socialist state. The questioner does not know what an automobile will be like fifty years hence, nor do we; but would not the present owner of an automobile be very unwise if he took an ax and chopt up his machine on the mere promise that the coming automobile will be better?

"Is it true that the organization of industry is being so perfected that the modern capitalist has become an unnecessary and useless factor in productive industry?"

It is not true. Every large business requires a great amount of capital, and the most careful supervision. The larger the business, the smaller, as a rule, the margin of profits; in the past not a few trusts have been organized because the margin in trade and manufacture had become ruinously small thru competition. Wise management is needed, else the profit will turn to loss. The wasteful methods tolerated under Governmental administration would ruin any one of our big trusts, save such alone as are not exposed to competition.

"The greatest contribution to the Nineteenth Century was the philosophy of Socialism."

"To elect public officials," said Robert Bandlow, a prominent Cleveland Socialist (The New Nation, March 5, 1904), "who have a faint or no conception of Socialist philosophy is more injurious to our cause than to have no standing at all." One hears a good deal about Socialist philosophy. The pioneer of scientific Socialism was Karl Rodbertus, who was born in 1805 and died in 1875. His theories were worked out with greater thoroness by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and the principal propositions of the new science were embodied in the Erfurt program by still another Karl, with the patronymic Kautsky. According to this philosophy society is made up, not of men and women, of families and nations, but of bourgeoisie and proletariat, or capitalist and wage-earner—merely accidental divisions, impossible either to define or fix. Originally, they say man descended from the ape. We are informed that his transformation occurred on that eventful day when he and his lady ape

rubbed two dry sticks together and produced a flame. After that they were no longer apes, but man and woman. What Darwin conceived as a theory, "scientific" Socialists have accepted as a settled fact.

There was communism at first, we are told, even to the selection of husband and wife. As in this phase of our history every one could know his mother and no one his father, the woman ruled society. She lost her supremacy when, in an evil moment, she took up with and clung to one husband. She became dependent upon him for her support. At all times there have been class struggles; slaves warring against freemen, plebeians against patricians, serfs against lords, journeymen against guild-masters, and now wage-earners against capitalists. What the struggle for existence has been in the biological world, that the class struggle has turned out to be in the history of our race. Economic conditions have been the impelling force in every conflict; in fact, these have determined the prevailing form of religion, the current conceptions of morality, philosophy, political science and law. Of the Communist Manifesto, C. H. Kerr (What to Read on Socialism, October, 1902, p. 16) says: "This is beyond comparison the most important political document ever issued. Written in 1848 it has been translated into every European language and is still the text book of International Socialism." The Communist Manifesto (p. 42) asks: "Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?"

They tell us that we are on the eve of the wind-up

of the class struggle. Liebknecht, at the Erfurt Congress (1891) declared that the impoverishment of the proletariat would be almost complete in eight or ten years. Upton Sinclair has set the final catastrophe for 1913, under the presidency of "The Untried Hope"—William Randolph Hearst. The wage-earners shall conquer and plunder the capitalist class and reduce it to their own level. Necessity will force this consummation, and when it comes it will be accepted; if not cheerfully, still accepted.

Objection was made to the class¹materialism of Marx even within the ranks of the Socialists. Bernstein noticed that the facts of history do not agree with Marx's class struggle; the great conflicts of the past did not occur on economic lines nor were they induced by economic causes. Ambition, jealousy, revenge, love of freedom have been more frequent and more potent factors in historical struggles than the bread and butter problem. [Mind is not now and never has been the servant of matter; history was not constructed by blind, inevitable forces.] He proved, too, that society was not separating into two extreme divisions, since, as a matter of fact, the middle class, which Marx said must soon disappear, is actually becoming more strongly intrenched and better remunerated year by year. The dividend of labor, both skilled and unskilled, in manufacturing and mining, was \$247 in 1850, \$289 in 1860, \$302 in 1870, \$347 in 1880, \$445 in 1890, according to the federal census. In 1857 there were 2,171 paupers to each million of population, and in 1890 little more than half that number, 1,116. Wages and their purchasing power have increased very materially since 1890. The small producers and distributors have increased numerically and the large corporations are made

up of many small investors. The United States Steel Corporation had 67,522 stockholders on January 1, 1905; the Pennsylvania Railroad had 45,000 stockholders on May 30, 1907, of whom 21,000 were women; the New York Central had about 18,000 stockholders on November 15, 1907. Says Bernstein: "The number of the possessing classes grows absolutely and relatively." The very rich control a very small percentage, after all, of the total business of the country.

A necessary consequence of the materialistic view of man is that his physical well-being becomes the one great concern of Socialism. The things of the mind and of the soul; everything else, in fact, personal independence, education, home-life, religious endeavor are all subordinated to production. The bread and butter question, according to Marx, is the motive force of progress. Lawrence Gronlund, a Socialist writer, asks (*Our Destiny*, p. 42) the pertinent question: "Will the future society be a sty filled with well-fed swine?" Another Socialist, A. M. Simons, speaks of "Pig Philosophy." That is what the philosophy of the "Scientifics" really is, a philosophy that can never appeal to men and women living in a higher altitude than that of mere sense gratification.

"The Socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is sooner or later inevitable."

"Marxist" (*Intern. Socialist Review*, March, 1901) agrees with you. "The full realization of Socialism," he says, "must come as the product of purely economic forces, in spite of the inertia of the human herd." The Socialist program is based on a sure, because scientific, basis, if we may believe the "Intellectuals" of the party

—namely on the materialistic conception of history. One of the deductions from this basis is the law: "The evolution of history is effected by economic contrasts and class struggles," or, as Engels puts it, when speaking of the past, (Duehring's *Umwaelzung*, p. 253): "The whole of history heretofore was the history of class struggles." Engels' appeal to the past is unfortunate. "Is there any record," asks Father Cathrein in his valuable book, "Socialism," p. 138, "of class struggles in the whole of Oriental history? There are many accounts," he continues, "of national wars between Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Medes, Persians, etc. We read of great generals and conquerors who introduced radical changes in the political and social order; but of class struggles there is scarcely a trace. The great masses of the people were and remained oppressed, bearing their yoke in mute resignation. And yet these nations reached a marvelous degree of civilization. Later on, the main factors in social evolution were the national struggles between Greeks and Persians, the internecine wars of Greeks against Greeks, the hostilities of Greeks and Macedonians, of Greeks and Romans, of the Romans and their neighbors, especially the Carthaginians. The influence of Greece and Rome upon the civilization of the entire Occident is incalculable, and it is in vain to explain it by a reference to class struggles. Were science and the arts, and thereby the development of civilization, ever influenced," he asks, "in any marked degree by class struggles? Are our modern inventions, especially those of printing and gunpowder, are steam engines and electric motors, are steamboats, railways, factories, telegraphs, etc., to be looked upon as the products of class

struggles? And yet they are the real revolutionaries, they are the creators of a new world."

The theories of surplus value, of the necessary concentration of all industries, of the pauperization of the masses in consequence of the concentration of capital, of periodical industrial crises growing more and more severe; all pointing to the imminent and inevitable collapse of our present economic forms, do not agree with the actual facts. The industrial crises are growing less acute, the masses in all civilized countries and particularly in our own have gone forward instead of backward. Wages here have increased over 50 per cent since 1860 and the hours of labor have been reduced from 15 to 30 per cent. Willey ("The Laborer and the Capitalist," p. 190) remarks that servant girls at the present time not infrequently own jewelry that costs more money than our grandmothers could afford to spend for a wedding dress. All of which goes to prove that society is not on the verge of a collapse. "There can be little doubt," says Nitti in "Catholic Socialism" (p. 13), "but that the progress of Socialism has been much less influenced by economic causes than by political causes and certain philosophical systems. Misery is no new evil; indeed, it shows a tendency to diminish."

"The materialistic conception of history does not imply the belief that man is a mere animal, as stated by you."

The materialistic conception of history, according to Charles H. Kerr ("What to Read on Socialism," p. 1), is "the central thing in Socialism. It is to history and social science what the law of gravitation is to physics." Cathrein (Socialism, pp. 120 and 121) presents this meaty analysis: "By their materialistic conception Marx and

Engels intended to establish an entirely new method of historical research and interpretation. Their whole theory may be reduced to the following four simple statements:

"1. There is no dualism of spirit and matter.

"2. In the social relations and institutions of man there is nothing immutable; everything is subject to a constant process of change.

"3. In this constant change production and the exchange of products are the determining and decisive factors.

"4. Social development is effected by the formation of economic contrasts and class struggles."

As to man being a mere animal, that follows from the first postulate of the materialistic conception of history, that nothing exists save matter. Engels, elaborating Marx's theory, denies the dualism of matter and spirit. So also "Marxist" in the *International Socialist Review*: "Our the monistic view of the philosophy of history." Philosophic monism implies the rejection of the existence of a soul, of an hereafter, of a personal God. Marx and Engels understood their historical materialism to be based upon philosophical materialism or materialistic monism. Most modern Socialist writers propagate the same doctrine, agreeing with Dietzgen (*Neue Zeit*, 22d yr. I, 238): "Because our materialism is based upon the unity of spirit and matter, it is quite correctly called dialectic materialism." The *Social-Democratic Herald of Milwaukee* published Engels' "Socialism from Utopia to Science" in a serial form for the purpose of developing Socialist minds. It is one of the "Classics of Social Democracy." In the issue of January 28, 1905, Engels is quoted with approval when he says: "Life from its

lowest to its highest forms is but the normal mode of existence of albuminous bodies. Nowadays, in our evolutionary conception of the universe there is absolutely no room for either a Creator or a Ruler." The editor introduces Frederic Engels to his readers as one, "who jointly with Karl Marx put the philosophy of Socialism on a scientific basis."

"I believe Scientific Socialism is the greatest contribution to the cause of Christ that has been made in modern times."

It has been shown above that Scientific Socialism is based on the materialistic conception of history, and that the latter, as taught by its originators, presupposes the denial of God and of the soul and the farther absurdity that "economic conditions determine the religions and moral ideas of a nation," as Ernest Untermann (*Labor and Capital*, April, 1903) expresses it. There is not much Christianity in this.

"You argue that the materialistic conception of history is wrong. Please tell us how ideas originate. Are they not the result of environment? If so, then the materialistic conception of history is and must be right. Is this not a logical conclusion?"

Sense perceptions constitute the first step in the origin of ideas. They are registered upon the brain. These are laid hold of by the mind and by a process of elimination and comparison are worked into abstract or universal ideas, or ideas properly so-called. Sense perceptions are communicated thru the bodily senses, thru reading, thru instruction, thru feeling, etc. Once we have a stock of sense perceptions we can elaborate them into a million combinations or ideas. We can get very

far from our immediate physical environment. But what connection has this with the materialistic conception of history, with the theory that man is descended from the ape and has neither free will nor an immortal soul? We may be influenced, but we are not dominated by our surroundings; we are not the slaves of our environment. As the children of God we are helped by His grace and called to a supernatural destiny; we are something more than mere insignificant atoms floating in a huge material universe.

“What the Darwinian theory is in biology that Socialism is in history. They offer the only scientific explanation of actual facts.”

The leading scientists of today, if I am informed correctly, confess that their brethren have blundered in forcing their observations to fit into Darwin's theory of evolution, instead of trying honestly to prove the latter from the former. They are now turning toward the law of Mendel and to the actual results of observations for safer guidance. We are hopeful that in the struggles of society for a higher civilization the reward will not go to the strong thru the elimination of the weak. Organized society, that is informed by Christianity, will prevent this; it conceives it to be part of its duty to protect the weak against the aggressions of the strong. Furthermore Christianity lays upon the rich the obligation of treating the poor as they would their own Savior. Says Dr. Wm. J. Kerby, Professor of Sociology at the Catholic University of America (*American Catholic Quarterly Review*, April, 1905): “The law of the modern industrial world is that weakness shall serve strength—a law diametrically contrary to that of Christ's teaching, which is that strength shall serve weakness.”

There is a brutal remark ascribed to Renan in George C. Lorimer's "Christianity and the Social State," p. 91: "It is the vocation of the many to nourish and develop the few; forty millions of our race may be esteemed as so much dung to supply fertility for the production of one great man." This may be good Darwinian doctrine; but it is totally unchristian. Any trust or trust magnate, that owes its or his existence to the ruthless crushing out of weaker competitors, merits every honest man's condemnation and deserves to be treated as an outlaw.

Prof. Richard T. Ely in "The Labor Movement in America," ed. 1890, p. 247, quotes DeLaveleye as saying: "It is impossible to understand by what strange blindness Socialists adopt Darwinian theories, which condemn their claims of equality, while at the same time they reject Christianity, whence those claims have issued and where their justification may be found."

"Having been a regular attendant upon your lectures and having listened to your arguments against Socialism and also having read Pope Leo's Encyclical 'On the Condition of the Working Classes,' I am more than ever convinced that modern Socialism is just and that its principles are based on indisputable facts.—A True Socialist."

"True Socialist" ought to know that Modern Socialism is not based on facts at all, but on fiction; what is not based on fiction is mere theory. The scientific basis of Modern Socialism (the only sort we are dealing with) is the materialistic conception of history, which is contradicted by the facts of history.

As to the justice of Socialism, one can say that if the Socialist were to practise what he preaches he would

soon find himself behind prison bars. When a man cannot be convinced that robbery is both a moral evil and a social wrong, he wastes his time in attending lectures. The fault does not lie with the head, I fear, but with the heart.

"The unequal distribution of property is a violation of natural law, since all men are born equal."

That all men are born equal is a maxim of jurisprudence, but not a statement of fact.

"You say there is no such thing as equality in nature. Let us not be misled by verbal and jesuitical tricks of speech. It is the question of bread and butter that is before us, the question of how to order the functions of society, so that all shall do their share of work and all have enough to eat, instead of having a gorged few and a famished many, as at present under the capitalist system. The stomachs of the people are relatively of the same size and call for approximately the same amount of fuel to keep the body in healthy condition. The point the Socialists insist on is that every person willing to do his share of work shall not be denied his requisit of food."

We are told repeatedly to look to the platforms for authoritative declarations. Now the Gotha platform calls for the "removal of all social and political inequality." The Erfurt Program "contends for the abolition of the rule of the classes and the classes themselves, and for the equal rights and equal duties of all without distinction of sex or pedigree." Here we have a demand for absolute equality of rights and a denial of all diversity of rights and duties. Upon what are demand and denial based? Upon the actual equality of all human beings in our actual social life, which equality

does not and cannot exist. You cannot make men socially equal by legislative decree. Furthermore the father has rights and duties diverse from those of his children, the wife from those of the husband, the strong and able-bodied from those of the invalid, etc.

The questioner sets up the more moderate view of Marx and Engels, as the true doctrine of Socialists, according to which everyone is to become a laborer and get his share of the social product according to the measure of his labor. Even this degree of equality cannot be maintained except by force. One man, more skilful than the rest, can secure a larger share of the social product. He may increase this by loans to the needy, by gambling, by choosing to lead the less expensive life of the bachelor, etc. A lesser inequality could be secured than now exists, beyond doubt; but it must be secured at an unreasonable price.

Marx admits that certain inequalities must exist for some time after the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth, tho he was hopeful that all of these might finally disappear, when all should receive according to their needs. Commenting on this, Cathrein ("Socialism," p. 187) well remarks: "Economic evolution is expected to plane down individual differences more and more. This assumption, however, is contradicted by the testimony of past historical development. It may even be put down as a general experience that the specific variety of social organisms and personal characteristics keeps pace with the progress of civilization. Among savage tribes we find the nearest approach to uniformity and general equality of rights. The greater the advance in social evolution, the greater also the distance from uniformity and equality. This was the case

in the past and will be such in the future. Not even the transfer of private property in the means of production to collective ownership would make the least difference in this respect, provided that civilization is retained at its present height and no recourse is had to brute force."

"The proper function of the state, as Weitling remarks, is administration, not government."

Socialists would commit the administration of many things to the state that it is unfitted for, that can be performed much better when left to individual enterprise and initiative. The chief function of the state is that of policeman—to keep the peace between citizens, to protect the weak against the strong, to enable one and all to live their individual life with the widest freedom consonant with an orderly and decent social existence. That country is governed best that is governed least—always assuming, of course, that each citizen is secured the exercise of his rights. Federal Judge Peter S. Grosscup has a sensible article in McClure's for February, 1905, on "How to Save the Corporations," in which he says: "The soul of republican America, as a civil government, ordained to promote the welfare and happiness of its people, is individual opportunity—the opportunity and encouragement given to each individual to build up, by his own effort, and for himself and those dependent upon him, some measure of dominion and independence all his own. The distance traveled from primitive man to the man of today has been a long one. But every mile was made under the spur, and governed by the rein of private property. It was the institution of private property that, more than any other secular agency, brought us to civilization; and on this institution, as on a rock, the

civilization of the world, and the world's republican institutions, must continue to rest."

Socialists would take away from the individual all gainful property and vest its ownership in the state. Debs' formula, "Competition for profit must give way to co-operation for use," sounds well; but its enforcement would introduce an "administrative state" tyrannical in the extreme. Judge Grosscup admits that "the proprietorship of private property of the country, by the bulk of the people of the country, is radically narrowing," which he considers a great evil. Earnings are deposited in banks instead of being put into business, thus giving the monopolies a larger field and the use of these very monies. Deposits in the banks of the United States—chiefly the hoards of the working people—aggregated in 1880 a little over two and one-fourth billion dollars, which had increased to eleven billions in 1904. From 1880-1904 the general wealth of the country increased per capita 10 per cent, the bank deposits 500 per cent. The Judge advocates, not Government ownership, but greater Government control of the corporations, arguing that if these be made safe the people at large will put their money into them rather than into banks and thus create healthful competition.

Professor Paulsen, who has generally a kind word for Socialism, ridicules this assumption that government in The New Hope will be purely administrative. "Nor will there be," he says, "any need of laws, or of a state at all, in the land of Utopia, in which the wolves will play with the lambs on the pasture and eat grass; when the ocean will be filled with lemonade, and ships will be drawn by trusty whales; where envy, hatred, tyranny, ambition, indolence, folly and vanity will no longer exist;

where there will be only wise and good men—in the millennium, for which it will not be necessary to devise laws and ordinances” (*System der Ethik*, vol. II., p. 437).

“Capital is necessarily the result of spoliation.”

Marx has made the same statement and he arrives at this conclusion from his peculiar theory of surplus value. He separates value in use from value in exchange. Value in exchange, he says, is determined solely by the labor, “socially useful,” employed in the construction of objects. Nothing remains in them, we are assured in *Capital*, vol. I., p. 4, but a mere crystalization of human labor; they represent only the fact that in this production human labor has been expended or stored up. According to the Marxian theory a piano case, constructed of hemlock, has the same value as one fashioned out of oak; a barrel of wine is worth no more than a barrel of cider; a painting by Raphael should exchange for a creation of the scene-painter’s, since the same amount of labor approximately is stored up in each.

Needless to say the theory of Marx does not agree with facts; labor alone is not the common denominator in exchange values. Labor has a certain influence upon the exchange value in so far as it tends to give greater usefulness to an object; but there are other factors that help to determine the value of commodities, chief among them usefulness—that quality in objects that fits them for supplying wants. “The commodities to be exchanged,” says Cathrein (*Socialism*, p. 151), may be ever so different in other respects, they all agree in this one point that they satisfy some human need, that in some way or other they are useful and desirable. This furnishes a point of comparison and a standard of measurement.”

Marx maintains that, as labor constitutes the sole value in exchange (which is not true) it belongs rightfully to its sole creator, the laborer. He also employs the distinction of use-value and exchange-value when speaking of man's labor power. The laborer gives the use-value of his labor to his employer, taking back a less amount, its exchange-value, sufficient merely for his subsistence and reproduction. If, says Marx, six hours of labor are sufficient for the laborer's keep, he is able to work twelve hours and all that he produces beyond the six hours goes to the employer, free of cost. This he calls surplus value, which he maintains, is nothing other than unpaid labor, a thing stolen from the laborer. Part of this surplus is sure to be converted into new business, which in turn is called capital. "Capital," he concludes, "is necessarily the result of spoliation."

Marx maintains that thru the aid of machinery and thru the enlargement and concentration of business more and more surplus value must be created and capital be correspondingly increased. There will be overproduction, resulting in periodical crises; the creation of a reserve army of producers (Wilshire's unemployed problem?), whose competition will lower wages to the starvation point; and finally the collapse of capitalism must ensue, when the starving laborers will take over the means of production and substitute an orderly process for the preceding anarchy of production, doing away, at the same time with surplus value—the source of all the mischief—by giving the laborer the full product of his toil.

As it is not true, however, that labor alone gives all of their value to exchangeable products, so it is also untrue that the laborer gets only sufficient compensation

to keep and perpetuate himself. Wages vary as much as 1,000 per cent, altho the cost of existence is practically the same for all. Moreover wages have increased very materially within a life time and the general purchasing power of the dollar has also increased. Not unfrequently wages exceed the value of products, resulting in bankruptcy. When all has been said the fact still remains that the capitalist hopes to secure a personal advantage out of the employment of laborers. If there were no such expectation he would not risk his possessions. Since, in any event, the result is the joint product of his capital and the laborer's brawn and skill, he is justly entitled to a part of the proceeds. Capital is not then the result of spoliation, unless it be made so thru the deliberate dishonesty of the capitalist himself.

"You mix wealth and capital together; but then the opponents of Socialism are constantly committing absurdities. Their whole line of arguments is one row of confusion and contradiction."

I am assured by the questioner that non-productive capital is wealth and that productive capital is not wealth. A man with a thousand acres of good land possesses no wealth, neither does the owner of a mill or of a street car line, according to the accurate definition of the Socialist. Most other people would call productive capital the very best kind of wealth. I have found not a few Socialists who resent the discussion of economics on the part of outsiders, as if none other but themselves were competent to handle so weighty a subject.

"It is said that seventy business sites in the city of Chicago return to the owners a rental of about three

millions a year regardless of improvements. What about the property rights of the people who pay the three millions?"

The people who pay the three millions evidently consider that sum a fair compensation for the use of the valuable land upon which they have erected their profit-making buildings. There is no violation of property rights in their paying for the exclusive use of another's land, nor in that other's demanding and receiving compensation for the same.

"What contributes to make the property, mentioned above, so valuable? What did priority of possession contribute to it?"

I do not know that priority of possession contributed anything to the wealth of the present owners. Priority of occupation is a valid title to ownership, if the thing occupied was previously ownerless. Some Indian or Indians were the first owners of that Chicago land: their rights came to them by the title of prior possession and were past on to others by the equally valid titles of purchase, inheritance or gift. What has given this particular tract of land its present enormous value is its present favorable location in the heart of a big and growing city.

Its present value did not come with one bound, but has been the growth of many years. It is argued that as the value of land is enhanced by the growth and quality of the community, the community should reap the increase rather than the individual holders of the land; but the increase in value of any property belongs by right and justice to him who owns the property. It does not make a particle of difference whether the property in question be personal or real.

"Is not property in privilege a violation of the just property of the wealth producers?"

The above was asked in connection with the two previous questions. A person owning property of any kind is justly entitled to whatever benefit is attached to it. If I own a piece of land and it appreciates in value, what right have three or four hundred thousand others, who do not own it, to an equal share in this increase? If, instead of increasing, it lost in value, thru the undesirable quality of my neighborhood, would the community consider itself bound to share the loss—the unearned decrement—with me? If not, why should I share the "unearned increment" with the community? Needless to say, the just property of the wealth producers is not violated, but is conserved by private ownership of land.

"Did God create the earth for the children of its present owners or for all the children of men? No sane man today expects equality of brains or wealth, but men and women demand equality of opportunity to use the land which the Single Tax will give."

Pope Leo has an answer for the first part of this question in his encyclical "Rerum Novarum": "To affirm that God has given the earth for the use and enjoyment of the whole human race is not to deny that private property (in land) is lawful. For God has granted the earth to mankind in general, not in the sense that all without distinction can deal with it as they like, but rather that no part of it has been assigned to any one in particular, and that the limits of private possession have been left to be fixt by man's own industry, and by the laws of individual races. Moreover, the earth, even tho apportioned among private owners, ceases not thereby

to minister to the needs of all, inasmuch as there is no one who does not sustain life from what the land produces. Those who do not possess the soil, contribute their labor; hence it may be truly said that all human subsistence is derived either from labor on one's own land, or from some toilsome calling which is paid for either in the produce of the land itself, or in that which is exchanged for what the land brings forth."

Since private ownership of land is just, the Single Tax, as advocated by Henry George, could not be applied without first purchasing the land from its present owners. The state is not rich enough to do this. And even tho it were done, the Single Tax could not make opportunities any more equal than they are now; for that tax can be shifted all too easily.

"Would the Single Tax do away with land monopoly?"

As advocated by Henry George it would create one huge land monopoly. The state would be the monopolist.

"Do you believe that speculation in land should be stopt?"

No. I do not see how it could be stopt. If large tracts are held unimproved, to the detriment of the surrounding dwellers, some remedy can be found, no doubt, in local or state laws, to meet the particular difficulty.

"Do you not think that the Single Tax would be the most just system of taxation?"

I think it would be the most unjust, if it is meant merely to disguise the nationalization of land; for in this case all land values would be confiscated outright by the

state under cover of the Single Tax. This was the purpose that Henry George had in view. As the Single Tax would fall most heavily upon the poor, it is not to be recommended. Laborers who own their homes would lose them the very first year they failed to pay the heavy tax levied upon their land. The owners of skyscrapers and big apartment houses, would have an advantage over the owners of small stores and homes, as they would have to pay no higher taxes and could distribute these among their numerous tenants.

"You say priority of occupation is recognized today, in hunting and fishing, for example. Because one was the first to cast a line into the river or lake, or a net into the sea, should that give him title to the lake or sea?"

Priority of occupation consists in converting into one's possession something that was ownerless before. The mere fact of throwing a line into a river or lake, or a net into the sea, does not bring all their fish into any single fisherman's possession, neither does it constitute occupation of the lake or sea.

"If God made the earth how can any man acquire ownership of ground or mines?"

If we can not own anything that God has made we will be very poor indeed. He gave the earth, with its mineral and vegetable wealth, for man's use. All men draw upon this resource for their sustenance and comfort. Leo puts it well when he says: "The earth, even tho apportioned among private owners, ceases not thereby to minister to the needs of all, inasmuch as there is no one who does not sustain life from what the earth produces."

“Pope Leo XIII. says: ‘As for those who possess not the gifts of fortune, they are taught by the Church that in God’s sight poverty is no disgrace.’ Don’t you think poverty is very inconvenient in a land of plenty?”

Poverty is always inconvenient; but whether we be poor or rich we will find that thru self-denial alone can one find peace and true happiness.

SOCIALIST ETHICS

"Is it justice to mankind that stockholders should get big dividends and the employee less than a living wage?"

No; it is an injustice to pay stockholders any dividend while capable adult laborers are getting less than a living wage. Human life must not be placed on a par with money.

"Would not society in general benefit by a higher wage?"

Society would certainly be benefited by a more equal distribution of goods.

"Would not the state benefit by reason of the fact that the wage-earner were content and prosperous?"

Undoubtedly. Contentment, however, does not necessarily follow high wages.

"Do you not believe that a higher wage for the wage-earner tends to a higher degree of morality?"

The extremes of destitution and superfluous wealth may have a deteriorating effect upon men's morals; but outside of that the question of goodness or wickedness bears no relation to wages.

"Man's morals are governed by his material conditions and surroundings. Statistics show that 80 per cent of all crime is chargeable to conditions under which men live, and that 74 per cent of poverty is traceable to causes over which man has no control."

I wonder what sage gathered these statistics! He must have stolen a peep into the Recording Angel's book. A man's surroundings will influence his morals for good or ill, but only in so far as his will permits. The will is the supreme arbiter of his actions. Our will can triumph over death itself. Witness the saints and martyrs. As to poverty, I do not believe that 74 per cent, or even 10 per cent, is traceable to causes over which man had no control.

"Would not a higher wage lead men to be more kind and charitable to their fellow men?"

Not necessarily. It would enable them to give more if they felt inclined to do so. But the inclination to give has no necessary connection with the possession of generous means, as observation abundantly proves. The virtues of kindness and charity do not require riches for their exercise. There may be more real virtue in a visit to a distress person than in the donation of a million dollars for a public library. At all events the plain, ordinary workingman gives proportionately more to charity than does his brother with the fine wages or fat salary.

"Would not a higher wage lessen the evil of drunkenness?"

I am afraid not. The men who are drinking to excess now would not be likely to drink less because of an increase in their wages. Drunkenness is a moral evil and requires a moral remedy. The possession of more wealth does not give men greater self control. McGrady tells us in "Socialism and the Labor Problem," p. 15, that when the wage-earner gets \$8.00 per day he will drink more tea. Congressional tea, perhaps.

"Do you not know that the system which you defend is based on the grossest inequality, on robbery, on vice, on crime and on murder?"

The system we defend is the right of the individual to own land, houses, stores, shops, etc., and to accept interest on loans, rent for the use of property and a fair profit from business enterprises, which is neither murder, nor crime, nor vice, nor robbery, nor gross injustice. We do not believe in equal division of unequal earnings.

"You call Socialists robbers. Socialists are going to deal with the trust as Lincoln dealt with the slaveholders. Would you call Lincoln a robber, too?"

The negro slaves were deprived of their freedom unjustly. The slave-hunter had no legitimate title in the men and women whom he sold to the southern planter, neither did the planter. To rob all holders of lucrative property, as the Socialists propose to do, is a different proposition entirely, and is wholly unjustifiable.

"I know that stealing cannot change from being immoral into being moral; but among different people and at different times there are different ideas as to what constitutes stealing. Thus stock-jobbing, which formerly was considered perfectly moral, is slowly coming to be considered as swindle and theft."

If stock-jobbing was formerly considered perfectly moral and is now looked upon as theft or swindling, stock-jobbing must have undergone a radical change. All unjust taking away or retaining of what belongs to another against that other's will, constitutes stealing to-day and has constituted stealing in the past, since the days of Adam.

"Socialists hold with science to the changeableness of things and are therefore scientific."

Some things change, but not all. Truth never can become error nor error truth.

"The code of morals does change with varying economic conditions. Rebates were not considered immoral two decades ago; now everybody is denouncing the Standard Oil Company for accepting rebates. What is the difference between a rebate given to the Standard and a discount given by the wholesaler to the retailer based on the amount of his purchase. Some day the latter will be considered immoral too. The moral law is not fixt or eternal; what is right in one generation is wrong in the next."

The moral law is fixt by God, not by men, and hence remains unchangeable. The evil in rebates and discounts does not lie in the favor shown to this or that individual or corporation, but in the injury which it enables these to inflict upon others. When actually used to crush competitors rebates and discounts are harmful and would be so considered in any age.

"The aim of Socialism is to alter and possibly abolish our present form of government and to organize another in its stead, based not only on political as our present government is, but upon economic equality as well. Now, have we not a right to do this? Would we be atheists in doing so? The Socialist of today is simply following the injunction laid down by the Declaration of Independence. He points to the increasing corruption of our political life, to the subserviency of legislation to corporate wealth, and to the thousand and one abuses of power with which we all are conversant, and declares:

‘This government has become destructive of its ends and it must be altered and abolished.’ You may deny the advisability of making such a change, but you cannot deny the right to make it. This is guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence. If you have had no scruple in becoming an American citizen you can not have any in becoming a Socialist; for both are dedicated to the same principle, the right to alter or abolish a given form of government.”

The questioner argues that because the Declaration of Independence proclaims the right of society to organize itself politically under whatever form may best secure certain blessings—among these latter life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—it would be the right of society to transform our political government into an industrial organization and by vote of the majority to deliver over the rightful belongings of certain individuals to collective ownership without indemnification to the dispossessed. The wording of the Declaration of Independence does not justify any such conclusion. If it did the Declaration of Independence would place itself in conflict with the moral law. The Declaration of Independence acknowledges the Creator and His supreme law. Justice and right are superior to the declarations of any body of men. It is precisely this placing of the will of man above the will of God, as revealed in positive law or in the natural or moral law, that proves the atheism of Socialism.

“The cardinal principle of Socialism is the nationalization of capital and whether or not the capitalist shall be indemnified is left to the judgment of the people at that time. But even assuming that there will be no indemnification, under the Declaration of Independence we

have a right so to act. You argue that as this is against the moral law, the Declaration can not sanction it. Do you not know that the moral law changes with every people and under every clime? When the Hawaiians were first discovered the missionaries were shocked at their morals. Similarly with the Fiji Islanders. It was part of the moral law, as proclaimed by the orthodox churches on the eve of the war of Independence, that the king ruled by God's authority and hence any resistance to his rule was a violation of God's law. The American colonists were oppressed. What did they do? Follow the 'moral law' and submit? No, they resisted the law and proclaimed the Declaration of Independence. It is for just such times as these, when the old ideas are contending with the new, that the Declaration of Independence serves as a guide by which to determine what is right and what is wrong. However just the right of private ownership of the means of production may have been in the past, today it is used as a means to subject the people to the oppression of the few. According to the moral law, as promulgated by the orthodox churches, this is just and right, but according to the Declaration of Independence it is not right and we are enjoined to alter it. It is for this reason that the Declaration is so dear to the American heart. Religious systems, moral laws, have been made, are made, and can be made into instruments of oppression, but the Declaration of Independence is a law unto itself, standing out at all times and under all circumstances for the right and independence of man."

"The divine right of kings" has no place in Catholic teaching. There is no need of reconciling the Declaration of Independence with the moral law, since it has violated no moral law. Nations possess the same right

in the eighteenth century that they possess in every century before and since to determine the form of their political and civil government and to designate their rulers. Once this public order is established it becomes the duty of the individual to obey the properly constituted authorities and to obey for conscience sake (provided, of course, nothing contrary to the moral law be commanded). God does not Himself designate our political superiors; that is left for us to do; when we have done so it can truthfully be said "the powers that be are ordained of God," since it is God's will that we live in orderly society.

Speaking of the relations existing between civil and religious administration in the Christian state, Leo XIII's words (Encyclical on Christian States) are to the point: "God has divided the government of mankind between two powers, ecclesiastical and civil; one presides over divine things, the other over human. Each in its sphere is sovereign; each is marked with limits perfectly defined, and traced in conformity with its nature and its special end. Hence there is, as it were, a circumscribed sphere in which each exercises its action *jure proprio*. * * * Thus all that is sacred in human things in any respect whatever, all that relates to the salvation of souls and the worship of God, either thru its nature or thru the relation of its end, comes under the authority of the Church. As to other things which relate to civil and political order, it is just that they be subject to civil authority, for Christ has commanded us to 'render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.'"

Tho the savage's notion of the moral law may differ from that of the civilized man, the moral law is not of

the making of either, but has its source and foundation in God's will. That men's conception of right and wrong is undergoing a change is true only among men of the stamp and association of the questioner.

The Declaration of Independence is not dear to the American heart because it pronounces our right to override the moral law, as, for instance, in allowing us to steal. It does nothing of the kind. The right of private ownership, both of means of production and consumption, antedates the state. That right was not given up when men organized themselves into political and civil societies. States are established to administer, not to supersede, justice.

The moral law does not change, but is eternal. The Co-operative Commonwealth may declare that stealing lucrative property is not sin, but it will be sin none the less. It may take the "not" out of the Commandment, which says, "Thou shalt not steal," and with the same assurance it may go a step further and take the "not" out of the Commandment which says, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," but stealing will be stealing still, and adultery will be adultery still. To declare the contrary is to set man above God, is to deny God's supremacy and this is practical atheism.

"Is the present widespread prostitution the result of capitalism or Socialism?"

Socialists try to rob prostitution of its moral stain by representing it as a necessary consequence of our economic conditions. If it were necessary it could not, of course, be held blameworthy; but prostitution is a moral evil and, like every other moral evil, has its origin in a depraved will. Every woman that has given herself over to a life of shame could have made an honest living,

if she needed to make a living at all. A good woman, if things came to the worst, would rather starve to death than embrace such a life. The male delinquent is fully as guilty as his partner: what excuse have Social Democrats for him? They cannot plead economic dependence in his case.

"Is not monogamy simply a phase in the historic development of the family? Do not family relations change with the economic conditions?"

This is what "scientific" Socialists teach; but it is not true. No, the family relation has its origin in the express will of God and in the law of nature and it does not change with the size of a man's pocketbook or with his material surroundings. Bebel, in "Woman in the Past," tells us that at first there was promiscuity, then polygamy or polyandry, finally monogamy. Bebel drew upon an accommodating imagination for his facts. Should the reader care to go more deeply into this subject he may consult "Die Frauenfrage" by P. A. Roesler.

"Is it not a fact that all our boodlers are either Democrats or Republicans? Yet the Catholic Church asks the people to support these boodle parties?"

If you have boodlers and these boodlers are either Democrats or Republicans, it is illogical to conclude that all Democrats and Republicans are boodlers. The Catholic Church does not ask her members to support any political party; she is not in politics. It is only when a party goes outside of pure politics and invades the domain of morals that she raises a warning voice. The Democratic and Republican parties do not advocate or approve of boodling. There is only one political party that does. The Socialist is the only read boodle party.

"How about your high officers in the Church and right in the city of Milwaukee, that have been caught: have you excommunicated them? Not much. They are still prominent members of your Church. When the Socialists find any embezzler he is thrown out of the party. Do you throw yours out of the Church?"

No Milwaukee boodler was a high officer in the Catholic Church. We do not excommunicate or throw thieves out of the Church; we try to keep them in so that we may preach to them the duty of restitution. No one who retains ill-gotten goods is admitted to the sacraments; so he cannot be a practical Catholic; he is told moreover, that he cannot save his soul unless he restores every dollar of unjust gain to its rightful owner.

The report of Leon Greenbaum, national secretary of the Socialist party, for 1902, shows not a few dishonesties among his own brethren, according to Herbert N. Casson (in Saturday Evening Criterion of Haverhill, Mass., July 18, 1903). Says Casson: "The fact is, that so far as it has had power, the Socialist party has been quite as corrupt a party of wire-pullers as the Republican or Democratic parties. It has shown less competence than they have in managing its affairs, and it has been more boss-ridden than any party in existence. Its boss-rule has put Tammany Hall in the shade, even in the worst days of Tweed and Croker." It was openly charged at the time that Greenbaum was ousted from office for exposing the shortcomings of his party.

Victor L. Berger is not so sure of the superior quality of your officers and membership. Writing in the Social-Democratic Herald, of April 8, 1905, he says: "We still have a small number of pin-heads, schemers, self-seekers and leeches in the party, some of whom will

now and then drift to the top." In the same issue he tells of "scheming phrase-mongers." The Socialist leaders can gage each other's worth and ability as well as any outsider.

"How prevent commercial and political boodling, grafting, swindling and dishonesty. Over 1800 years of Christian teaching and education have produced no appreciable result. A radical change of our industrial system from competitive to co-operative is indispensable for a change in public morals."

Christianity has brought about a great change for the better in public and private morals. Compare the ages that preceded Christ with the present era, or pagan with Christian countries. You cannot make people good by law nor honest by a change in the mode of production and distribution. Christianity aims at character improvement, teaching that moral renovation must come from within and must proceed from the individual. If greater progress has not been made it is because so many men and women refuse to regulate their lives by the Christian standard. There would be opportunity for manifold dishonesties in the co-operative state, both in its political and in its economic department. It is only too true that in our present competitive system there are many things that are faulty and un-Christian. These can be corrected, however, without introducing other and greater evils. We cannot subscribe to Editor Wayland's characterization: "Poverty, starvation suicide—the trinity of hell. The past but a dream of hell, the present a realization of hell, the future an anticipation of more hell." Appeal to Reason, April 22, 1905.

"What did Jesus mean when He said it was easier for a camel to pass thru the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven? If He did not mean what He said in this instance, how are we to know that He meant anything that He ever said?"

Read a bit farther and you will get at Christ's meaning. In Mth. 19, 25 and 26, we read: "And when the disciples heard it they were astonished exceedingly, saying 'Who then can be saved?' And Jesus, looking upon them, said to them: 'With men this is impossible; but with God all things are possible.'" We learn from this passage that the possession of great wealth, while not a moral wrong in itself, is nevertheless so fraught with dangers that nothing short of God's bountiful grace can save its owner from perdition. Some of these dangers are pride, ostentation, self-sufficiency and self-indulgence, dishonest manipulations, taking advantage of the poverty of others, refusing to succor the needy and unfortunate.

"Isaiah 65, 21 and 22, says: 'And they shall build houses and inhabit them, and they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build and another inhabit; they shall not plant and another eat.' How are you going to live up to that, unless you live under a co-operative system such as Socialists advocate? Is not rent forbidden by Isaiah's God, who, I presume, is your God also?"

There is no question of rented houses or vineyards in this instance or of a Co-operative Commonwealth. The context makes the meaning of the Lord quite plain: the children of Israel were not to be molested by marauding neighbors. Cf. Is. 32, 18; Amos 9, 14; Jeph. 1, 13; Isaiah 62, 8 and 9 reads: "Jehovah hath sworn by his

right hand and by the arm of His strength. Surely I will no more give thy grain to be food for thine enemies; and foreigners shall not drink thy new wine, for which thou hast labored: but they that have garnered it shall eat it, and praise Jehovah: and they that have gathered it shall drink it in the courts of My sanctuary."

"No man has a right to be rich. No man ever yet became rich by fair means. No man can become rich by his own industry. No man can either become rich or remain rich without violating the principles of truth and justice and defying the explicit teachings of Christ."

A succession of statements without proof, that can be met, in similar fashion, by a simple denial. To the point are President Roosevelt's words at the unveiling of the McKinley monument at Canton, Ohio, September 30, 1907: "Wrongdoing is confined to no class. Good and evil are to be found among both rich and poor, and in drawing the line among our fellows we must draw it on conduct and not on worldly possessions."

"We have conception, we have individualism and we have religion; but we have not morality, we have not justice and we have not peace."

A little more of applied Christianity will correct the evils incident to competition and individualism. Morality, justice and peace walk hand in hand with religion. Gladstone has testified: "Talk about questions of the day. There is but one question and that is the Gospel. It can and will correct everything that needs correction. . . . My only hope for the world is in bringing the human mind into contact with Divine Revelation."

"Is it possible under the present order of things to comply with the teachings of the Church and be successful in worldly affairs?"

Yes. Thrift, energy, cheerfulness, honesty, truthfulness and consideration for the rights of others are good business as well as good Christian principles.

"Is not the law of inheritance immoral since it withholds from the community what belongs to it?"

Ownership implies the right of disposing of the goods owned. What claim can the community as such have upon goods that are not its own? It seems incredible that anyone should deny another's right to dispose of his own, whether by gift or thru the law of inheritance. A recent issue of *Appeal to Reason* answers a correspondent in this fashion: "Socialism will not molest any honestly acquired possession. All these people (millionaires) will have to do is to prove that they have produced the equivalent of what they possess by their own exertions and have transferred it into whatever shape they hold it. That's all. But remember that when one has great wealth and yet has produced nothing, he could not have given an equivalent for what he possesses. Each must stand upon his own merits. It will not answer in equity to say: 'My father did so-and-so, and therefore, I am entitled.'" N. A. Richardson in "Methods of Acquiring National Possession of Our Industries," p. 9, says: "Socialists, of course, contend that no able-bodied human being should be permitted to possess anything, or to be the recipient of any distinction, or be vested with any power or influence of whatever nature except as reward for his own personal merit. This, the most thoroly individualistic condition that could be imposed upon man, is fundamental to our ideas

of collectivism." So, too, T. J. Hagerty in "Economic Discontent," p. 36: "Wealth is simply heapt up labor. It belongs only to him who has earned it by his own efforts. It cannot be transmitted to other generations."

A saner view is that of Pope Leo XIII. as exprest in his encyclical "On the Condition of the Working Classes": "It is a most sacred law of nature that a father should provide food and all necessaries for those whom he has begotten; and, similarly, nature dictates that a man's children, who carry on, so to speak, and continue his personality, should be by him provided with all that is needful to enable them to keep themselves honorably from want and misery amid the uncertainties of this mortal life. Now in no other way can a father effect this except by the ownership of lucrative property, which he can transmit to his children by inheritance. * * * The family has at least equal rights with the state in the choice and pursuit of the things needful to its preservation and its just liberty."

Since then property in land and active capital generally are upheld by the law, both of God and of man, and confiscation of the same, without due compensation, would be a flagrant violation of that command of God's which says: "Thou shalt not steal!" it follows that no Catholic, or any other honest man, can associate himself with either of the Socialist parties in America.

If the size of the fortune, bequeathed by will, proves a menace to the public weal, the state may legitimately interfere. This is the view of President Roosevelt, who, on April 13, 1907, exprest himself in an address at Washington as follows: "As a matter of personal conviction, and without pretending to discuss the details or formulate the system, I feel that we shall ultimately have to

consider the adoption of some such scheme as that of a progressive tax on all fortunes, beyond a certain amount, either given in life or devised or bequeathed upon death to any individual—a tax so framed as to put it out of the power of the owner of one of these enormous fortunes to hand on more than a certain amount to any one individual; the tax, of course to be imposed by the National and not by the state Government. Such taxation should, of course, be aimed merely at the inheritance or transmission in their entirety of those fortunes swollen beyond all healthy limits.”

Mgr. John S. Vaughan, in “Faith and Folly,” goes still farther and pronounces a progressive, or even geometrically increasing income-tax, most just. “To many,” he says on p. 276, “it has seemed that a sense of true equity would require not an arithmetical, but what has often been suggested, a geometrical increase of the rate of taxation, or, at all events, a progressive income-tax of some kind, as the income swells. If some such arrangement were come to, the effect would be, not to reduce all men to one dead level, which is neither desirable nor possible, but merely to establish a proportionality more equal and just than under existing arrangements, and to raise an effective barrier against the hideous extremes of wealth on the one hand, and of prostrate poverty on the other, which are a disgrace to our [English] civilization. Thus a man might go on accumulating wealth, as heretofore, but with less and less ease; until, at last, a limit would soon be reached beyond which no one could pass, as the tax would reach a percentage which would be prohibitive. In a word it would prevent the extremes which are clearly undesirable, if not positively wrong.”

"Do you approve of a system that allows a few people to mulct and oppress the multitude, as do the coal and beef trusts? Socialism will do away with this."

Private ownership of the means of production while a benefit to society at large, can be abused and has been abused in particular cases. Correct the individual cases. The system is not at fault. If a dog gets too ugly we put a muzzle on him; it is not necessary to kill all the dogs of the town. If the Beef and Coal trusts injure society, thru discrimination in rates or other unjust methods, why not draw their teeth? In a republic, where we enjoy universal manhood suffrage, we need not submit to industrial any more than to political tyranny. We can correct every flagrant abuse and in doing so we need not descend to dishonest expedients or to the revolutionary torch, as advocated by Social Democrats. If we are too indolent to bestir ourselves, or too indifferent to put strong and honest men into positions of trust, let us not lay the blame upon our industrial system.

In the course of his address at Washington, April 13, 1907, President Roosevelt remarked: "The men of wealth who today are trying to prevent the regulation and control of their business in the interest of the public by the proper Government authorities will not succeed, in my judgment, in checking the progress of the movement. But if they did succeed they would find that they had sown the wind and would surely reap the whirlwind, for they would ultimately provoke the violent excesses which accompany a reform coming by convulsion instead of by steady and natural growth. On the other hand, the wild preachers of unrest and discontent, the wild agitators against the entire existing order, the men who act crookedly, whether because of sinister design

or from mere puzzleheadedness, the men who preach destruction without proposing any substitute for what they intend to destroy, or who propose a substitute which would be far worse than the existing evils—all these men are the most dangerous opponents of real reform. If they get their way they will lead the people into a deeper pit than any into which they could fall under the present system.”

“Of all the absurd charges ever raised against the Social Democrats that they have created class hatred is just about the queerest. Class hatred is as old as history itself. It is in the capitalist system. If a father were so unwise and unjust as to give one of his sons all the whippings and another all the candy, they would not be likely to entertain very brotherly feelings toward each other. If you want men to love each other treat them as equals. Since preaching and teaching has thus far failed, why not let the Social Democrats try their practical measures?”

The charge has been made that Socialists are engendering a class hatred that threatens the peace of society. For proof of the charge read any Socialist paper or listen to any Socialist speech. There were hostile classes, no doubt, before the advent of Marx and there are warring factions today with which Socialists have nothing to do; but that does not make it any the less true that the followers of Marx are social disturbers. Their promises of candy to good and bad, to industrious and lazy alike, are about nine-tenths promises and one-tenth confectionery.

SOCIALISTS AND CONFISCATION

"Please define what Socialists mean by the capital that is to be turned over to the community."

All so-called "active capital," capital that is yielding or that may yield interest, profit or rent: as land, whether in town or country, transportation lines, factories, stores, savings deposits, life and fire insurance, houses or rooms if rented out, construction work, every large and small business enterprise. The party platforms call for community ownership of all means of production and distribution. An editorial in *Wilshire's*, July, 1905, says: "And of course we include in this broad definition of capital our dwelling houses and the land upon which our houses, etc., stand. . . . The emancipation of labor can only be accomplished when all capital is owned by labor."

"Socialism would not rob anyone. It would distinguish between the legal possessor and the rightful owner. It would compel the legal but unlawful possessor to restore to the rightful owner the property of which he had robbed him."

No fault could be found with such a program; by what standard, however, will Socialism pronounce possession rightful or unjust? Here's the rub. "Appeal to Reason," March 14, 1903, tells us: "A Socialist congress may so change our constitutional form of government as to permit of the condemnation of all property for the benefit of the people, without any compensation therefor." *Appeal to Reason* has the largest circulation of any Socialist publication in the world. Its ideas of

rightful ownership can be gathered from almost every issue. February 18, 1905, it declares: "Whether they (the people) will take it (all productive property) with or without compensation will be a matter that will be determined by the people themselves. * * * They will adopt methods of acquiring the property which will be satisfactory to the majority." Victor L. Berger, leader of the Milwaukee Socialists, made a similar declaration in the Milwaukee Sentinel, February 5, 1905: "This change (to Socialism) will simply mean the expropriation of expropriators, the restitution of the means of production to those who use them. * * * This restitution can only take place collectively—it will take place legally, for a majority of the people have a right to make the laws.'

Is the will of the majority to be the standard of right and wrong? Such is the declaration of Socialists generally. In its issue of March 17, 1905, Appeal to Reason says: "I repudiate any conditions that have been imposed on me without my consent. I may have to submit, but I shall agitate until I can get enough with me to overcome that condition. I repudiate the land laws that make serfs and masters. I repudiate the money laws that add to that mastership; I repudiate all the corporation laws that give to others a control over my life and the lives of my children. Let each generation make its own laws."

The Socialists of Milwaukee conducted a column in the Daily News. In the issue of March 28, 1905, the declaration was made: "We look upon the property of the trusts and corporations as stolen goods." Are they stolen goods because the Socialists look upon them as such, or because a majority may vote them such? "Thou

shalt not steal" applies to majorities as well as to individuals, as it applies to trusts, too, and corporations.

"Socialism advocates nothing that is evil; it is an economic movement entirely, aiming to benefit the community at large and especially the laborer, whose hours of necessary labor will be shortened to three or four. The Socialist party should not be condemned because there are some thieves and libertines in it; there are such in the Republican party, too."

The Socialists are awaiting the opportunity to rob all stores and banks; besides factories, railroads, street railways, telegraph and telephone lines, every country farm and town lot; and according to Gaylord Wilshire, every dwelling house as well. To confiscate all lucrative properties is declared by every Socialist platform an absolute necessity for the introduction of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Socialist leaders and newspapers assure us that compensation will not be thought of. If the reader cares to examine some witnesses on this point, I would refer him to H. Gaylord Wilshire in the *Challenge*, June 26, 1901; A. M. Simons in "What the Socialists Would Do if They Won in This City (Chicago)," p. 24; Ernest Untermann in "Labor and Capital," April, 1903; "Appeal to Reason," April 14, 1903; Emile Vandervelde in "Collectivism," p. 171; Marx "Das Kapital," 4th ed., p. 728; "Communist Manifesto;" Bebel in "Woman," p. 128; H. M. Hyndman in "The Commercial Crisis," p. 173; Rev. Charles A. Vail in "Modern Socialism," p. 152, p. 154; Hyndman and Morris in "A Summary of the Principles of Socialism," p. 60; Kerr in "What to Read on Socialism," p. 2. Appeal to Reason tells us, (April 18, 1903), that all private as well as public debts will be repudiated.

An English platform repudiates the national debt. Lecky, in "Democracy and Liberty," vol. I, p. 310, says : "In England the Fabian Society is committed in its declared principles to the transfer to the community of land and industrial capital 'without compensation (tho not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community.'"

To justify their contemplated robbery Socialists may say that the workers produce all the wealth; hence when they confiscate the productive properties of the possessing class they are merely restoring them to their rightful owners. It is not true, however, that labor is the sole factor in wealth production. Other factors are capital and land. The farmer requires seed, horses, implements and a field (not to speak of nature's blessings, rain, heat, etc.) before he can make his labors productive; the mill man requires a building, furnaces, fuel, machinery, raw materials, etc.—land and capital—if his labor is to yield any fruit. So in every business. If capital needs labor, the reverse is also true; labor needs capital. Capital is entitled to a share of the joint earnings of capital and labor.

On what ground do Socialists deny man's right of ownership to productive capital? Bishop J. L. Spalding, ("Socialism and Labor," p. 21) speaks to the point: "While one man consumes the equivalent of his entire work another consumes but part, and thus gradually accumulates a capital which he invests in some machine, for instance, and thereby acquires a right to whatever value the machine may add to manufactured products. His machine has become his fellow laborer, and, if large and perfect enough, will do the work of many men. What right can the state (or his fellow-men) have to

take from him this labor saving instrument, which he has invented or paid for with money honestly earned?"

If Bishop Spalding's statement is true (and who will deny it?) T. McGrady bears false witness when he says ("City of Angels," p. 25): "Our industrial system is founded on exploitation, robbery and injustice."

The law of God recognizes ownership to lucrative property: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's field."

There may be thieves and libertines in the Republican as well as in the Socialist party, but there is a difference. Knavery in the former exists in spite of the party, is repudiated and condemned by the party leaders and organs; knavery in the latter is part of a deliberate and premeditated plan and is essentially bound up with the party and endorsed by the party leaders and organs. When one votes the Republican ticket he does not vote for robbery, but when one votes the Socialist ticket he votes directly for the spoliation of capital.

To hope for a three or four hour work-day when every incentive to effective and economical production is removed, as must happen when men work for a community, instead of laboring for themselves individually, and under a foreman of their own selection, shows a credulity that is simply infantile. Why make it four hours? McGrady, Hagerty and Kerr say two; Theo. Herzka, the Viennese "scientist," says one hour, twenty-two minutes and 30 seconds.

"When you say that labor does not produce all wealth you contradict yourself in a most glaring manner: you say the farmer requires seed, horses, implements, etc., and that the millman requires a building, furnaces, fuel, etc. Are not all of the above, with the exception of land, the products of labor? As to land, that was created

by Providence for the use of all mankind. As to capital that too is the product of labor. The charge that Socialists propose to steal is absolutely false."

No one, not even a Socialist, relishes the title of thief; so the latter tries by many arguments to make his proposed confiscation appear just. His favorite formula is: Wealth belongs to him who made it; but all wealth is produced by labor; therefor, he concludes, all wealth belongs to our working people. There is a flaw in the syllogism; it has four terms. The laborers of today (who are to be the recipients of the confiscated wealth) have not performed all the labor that has produced our present wealth. All of our present wealth does not then belong to them. Even tho that portion of it known as capital was originally the product of labor, it may now be rightfully owned and be invested for further profit by individuals. When so invested it becomes a new and most valuable factor in wealth production and is entitled to share in its distribution. When a farmer loans his threshing machine to a neighbor he expects a percentage of grain in return. He would think his neighbor daft if he reasoned in the style of the Socialist: "Your thresher is the product of labor; we are laborers; therefor it belongs to us as well as to you and we owe you no grain."

Socialists deny the right of individuals to own land, because "Providence created it for the use of all mankind." That God intended the earth for the sustenance and comfort of the human family is evident. There is no record, however, of His telling man to hold it in common for the common weal, or to divide it up into separate holdings for the greater common weal. He left that to be determined by man himself. Every civilized race has chosen private ownership as being best adapted to the

public good. The owner will take better care of his farm than the tenant. The United States Government has learned this lesson from experience; it is giving away homesteads to individuals because they yield indefinitely more than any similar acreage of public domain. Private ownership is just and wise. The charge that Socialists propose to steal is absolutely false, says the questioner, yet in the same flourish of the pen he admits that they propose to confiscate outright every foot of privately-owned land!

“Pope Leo asked: ‘Is it just and right that the fruit of a man’s own sweat and labor should be possessed and enjoyed by anyone else?’ Socialists hold the same view, do they not?”

They express the same principle, but deny its application. Leo used the words quoted above to prove the farmer’s right to ownership of his land, which Socialists, in company with Henry George, controvert.

“How did the trusts and large capitalists get their enormous wealth? One thing is certain, they never earned it. Then there can be no other conclusion but that they have taken it from industry without giving an equivalent, which would be robbery. Take for example, the United States Steel Corporation. How did they get their wealth? They formed a trust and capitalized it at five times its real value and sold the worthless stocks to the people. This is but one of the workings of the trusts. Another is the cheapening of production. Who gets the benefit of the increased and cheapened production? Not the worker; neither the consumer. From the above it will be seen that the greater part of the property of the trust is stolen property. A great portion of it has been

stolen legally, of course, but stolen just the same. There is no moral law that says we must pay for stolen property in order to regain it, and if the people were to pay for the property of the trusts they would simply be paying for what by right belongs to them, which would be absurd. But you will say: What about the small capitalists? In the first place, the days of the small capitalist are numbered, Socialism or no Socialism; and in the second place, he would be far better off under Socialism than under our present system."

Capital may be multiplied indefinitely, may be added to by gift, by inheritance, by investment, by labor. Business on a large scale need not be less honest than when conducted with limited capital. The taking of profit is not of itself an immoral transaction, as Socialists maintain. If capital profits by the laborer's brawn and skill, so does the laborer profit by the opportunities presented by capital.

Another argument adduced by Socialists to justify their proposed robbery is the real or alleged dishonesty of individual multimillionaires. One or other unscrupulous promoter, it is stated, swindled the investors in United States Steel out of a lot of money; therefor, they conclude, we ought to complete the job and rob the 60,000 shareholders of the balance of their investment together with that of the original swindler. A peculiar righting of wrong! It is well to keep in mind that Socialists mean to rob, not only multimillionaires, but the small capitalists as well. In the eyes of the Socialist everyone is a capitalist who has money on interest, or a house or room for rent, or a lot or farm, or a store, a shop, etc.

Our questioner has a special argument to justify

the despoiling of small capitalists. They will soon be eaten up anyhow, he tells us, by the big fish; so we might just as well step in ahead and eat them first. The little fellows must not call this "stealing," because they are promised steady work and other good things under Socialism.

"It is not true that Socialists would rob the land on which houses stand, or savings accounts, or life insurance. The Socialists never proposed or dreamed of such an absurd proposition. Why should they take homes, savings or insurance from a man who is not using this wealth to exploit labor thru the wage system? They have no wish to take even from Rockefeller or Morgan their palatial homes scattered over all parts of the country."

There is some dispute among Socialists whether or not houses shall be owned privately in the Socialistic state. The editor of *Appeal to Reason* tells us that they shall not be owned privately; that the state will provide glass houses in which there shall be no dampness nor places for microbes to lodge, thus making every bacterial disease an impossibility. Of course Editor Wayland is only speaking for himself, tho setting up as instructor of some two or three hundred thousand readers. *Wilshire's*, July, 1905, includes houses in the communal confiscation. It is hard to conceive how private ownership of houses could be conceded in the Co-operative Commonwealth. It is commonly agreed, however, that all land or real estate must be made communal property, since land is included in "means of production." *Appeal to Reason*, January 21, 1905, approvingly quotes Liebknecht as saying: "Socialism removes personal private property in the means of production;" and Schaeffle:

"Socialism demands that there shall be collective ownership in the means of production." A. M. Simons in "What the Socialists Would Do If They Won in This City," p. 24, says: "They (Socialists) might agree with our single tax friends so far as to tax the whole rental value out of land," which would be equivalent to nationalizing the land. Marx recommended as an immediate demand expropriation of all land property and conversion of ground rent to the expenses of the state (Kaeser, *Der Sozialdemokrat*, etc., p. 35). The Chicago Platform (1904) declares: "Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered."

As savings and insurance premiums are not permitted to sleep in strong vaults, but are made productive in a hundred different ways it must be plain that they will also be confiscated together with all other active capital. Says John Graham Brooks in *The Social Unrest*: "Whatever form the definition takes there is today no clearly conceived Socialism that does not aim first of all at the socializing of the 'three rents'—rent, interest and profit."

When they present their system to the working people, Socialists try to hide the features that would affect injuriously the small property holder.

Socialists also deny the right of private ownership to all that they call the natural resources, among which they include land, minerals, oil and all active or productive capital. Says Herron: "Private ownership of natural resources is a crime against God and man and nature; natural resources are not property, and cannot be so held without destroying the liberty of man and the basis of the religion of Christ." I quote from *The Inde-*

pendent, the editor of which brands these propositions as "preposterously wrong and unjust." While it is true that the earth is intended by the Creator for the use of all His children, this does not militate against private ownership of land; for there must be some fencing in of land, since several cannot occupy the same spot at the same time. / Says Leo XIII. in his Encyclical "On the Condition of the Working Classes": "That which is required for the preservation of life, and for life's well-being is produced in great abundance from the soil, but not until man has brought it into cultivation and expended upon it his solicitude and skill. Now, when man thus turns the activity of his mind and the strength of his body towards producing the fruits of nature, by such act he makes his own that portion of nature's field which he cultivates, that portion on which he leaves, as it were, the impress of his individuality; and it cannot but be just that he should possess that portion as his very own, and have a right to hold it without any one being justified in violating that right.

"So strong and convincing are these arguments, that it seems amazing that some should now be setting up anew certain obsolete opinions in opposition to what is here laid down. They assert that it is right for private persons to have the use of the soil and its various fruits, but that it is unjust for any one to possess outright either the land on which he has built, or the estate which he has brought under cultivation. But those who deny these rights do not perceive that they are defrauding man of what his own labor has produced. For the soil which is tilled and cultivated with toil and skill utterly changes its condition; it was wild before, now it is fruitful; was barren, but now brings forth in abundance.

That which has thus altered and improved the land becomes so truly a part of itself as to be in great measure indistinguishable and inseparable from it. Is it just that the fruit of a man's own sweat and labor should be possessed and enjoyed by any one else? As effects follow their cause, so is it just and right that the results of labor should belong to those who have bestowed their labor.

"With reason, then, the common opinion of mankind, little affected by the few dissentients, who have contended for the opposite view, have found in the careful study of nature, and in the laws of nature, the foundations of the division of property, and the practise of all ages has consecrated the principle of private ownership, as being pre-eminently in conformity with human nature, and as conducing in the most unmistakable manner to the peace and tranquility of human existence. The same principle is confirmed and enforced by the civil laws—laws which, so long as they are just, derive from the law of nature their binding force. The authority of the Divine Law adds its sanction, forbidding us in the severest terms even to covet that which is another's: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife; nor his house, nor his field, etc.' (Deut. 5:21). The right of property is older than the state, and as man existed before the state, the state cannot rob him of this right."

"When the burglar points his pistol at the householder the latter does not inquire whether or not the pistol was purchased honestly. He will get it from the burglar's hand by any means in his power. So, too, the Socialist would wrench his weapon of destruction from the hands of the trust magnate and, while doing so, he has little time for inquiry whether or not his weapon is the accumulation of honest toil."

The householder acts wisely in preventing the burglar from taking his life and in confiscating the pistol lest other lives be endangered. When the wealth of the trust magnate is made an instrument of oppression the state is alone justified in proceeding against the offender and using whatever force is necessary to put an end to the oppression. If it be found necessary to go to the extreme of confiscation, payment will have to be made for the actual value of the confiscated properties, unless it can be clearly proven that the properties in question were stolen from the community.

"You stated that the confiscation of property of any kind without a corresponding compensation is robbery. Is restitution robbery? Are not all fortunes acquired thru rent, interest or profit, and are not these robberies, according to the Old Testament, the teachings of the Father and the declarations of Popes and Ecumenical Councils?"

Usury was forbidden in the Old Law, just as it is forbidden now. Usury was the name given to interest then; but it was always an exorbitant interest that was demanded by money-lenders. When people borrowed money in those days it was because they were in need, and the aim of the law was to save them from a still profounder destitution. Lending money was considered a work of charity; not, as now, a simple business proposition. The law-makers constantly appealed to the maxim that money is barren and therefor no increase can be demanded. But business has undergone a complete change since then; money is no longer considered, nor is it barren. It is made productive in various ways. A change in conditions necessitated a change in the Church's attitude toward the taking of interest. From

the earliest times, however, pawnshops (Montes Pietatis) were conducted under Christian auspices to relieve the pressing wants of the poor, and sufficient interest was demanded to keep the establishments alive. The purpose of all the legislation on this head was that the poor might be favored. In our changed conditions the poor would be hurt rather than helped by the prohibition of interest. Rents and profits were not forbidden at any time. The system of annuities in return for the use of another's capital or money, was countenanced in every Christian age.

Socialists, who take pains to inform themselves on the subjects they discuss, see no contradiction in the Church's varying attitude toward interest. Says Rev. Charles A. Vail, one of their number, in "Modern Socialism," p. 59: "In the olden times the usurer was simply a leech, profiting by the distress of others. The money loaned was not put to productive uses, but was borrowed because of some urgent needs, and so to take advantage of man's misfortunes was considered immoral. Today, the matter presents another aspect. Money is borrowed for the purpose of establishing some industry, etc. * * * If a man borrows money to use productively in making money, it is but fair that he should pay for its use."

"Is it not a fact that capitalism has compelled the Church to tolerate usury?"

It is not a fact. Usury, used in its true sense of taking advantage of the poverty of another by extorting an excessive interest, is a moral wrong and will always be forbidden. "To gather one's profit," says Leo XIII. in the famous encyclical "On the Condition of the Working Classes," "out of the need of another, is condemned by all laws, human and divine."

"Time was when you Catholic priests showed some regard for the teachings of the Fathers. Ambrose said that nature gave all things in common for the use of all and that usurpation created private right. Chrysostom compared the rich to highway robbers. He also says that the soil was given to the rich and poor in common and that it is wrong for anyone to claim a part of it for himself. Even one of your Popes, Clement I., said: 'The use of all things in this world is to be common to all. It is an injustice to say: "This is my property, this belongs to me, that belongs to another."' Hence, the origin of contentions among men.' Jerome, Augustine, Basil and Gregory the Great teach the same. Their doctrine must have been the common and accepted teaching of your Church; for it was incorporated into the *Corpus Juris*, your official book of laws. If private property was robbery 1500 years ago, is it not robbery still? Then if we propose to execute tardy justice now, and restore property to its rightful owners, do not call us thieves. You have put the glove on the wrong hand."

I was able to trace the sources of the questioner's information and thru them get the references that he fails to supply. Herron, in his brochure "Between Caesar and Jesus," (pp. 111ff.) gives most of them and refers the reader to Professor Nitti's "Catholic Socialism." Nitti fortunately tells where they were taken from. Bebel, in "Woman," devotes a footnote to the same quotations, referring the reader to "Forty Books on the State."

The quotations are genuine; yet if one were to conclude from these isolated passages that the Fathers held all property to be robbery, one would misrepresent them utterly. In the same discourses in which these pas-

sages occur the Fathers teach the rightfulness of private property in plain and unmistakable language. You quote St. Chrysostom, for instance, as comparing the rich to highway robbers. This he did in a sermon on the parable of Dives and Lazarus; he was speaking of a certain class of rich men, not unknown to our own time, who used their wealth to oppress the poor and who left them, like Lazarus, at the gate, begging for the crumbs from their table, and left them, too, to have their sores licked by the dogs of the street. Chrysostom concludes his castigation in these words: "Everyone who lives by fraud and rapine, like that rich man (*quemadmodum et dives ille*) will call down upon himself God's eternal vengeance." There is a paragraph in that sermon that Socialists are not likely to quote: "The example of Lazarus is a grave indictment of him who frets under his poverty. This poor man, who lay at the gate of the rich, neither complained nor murmured. He did not say, like many another: 'Why should things be thus? This spendthrift is rioting in luxury, while I lie here despised and dying of hunger!' Not so spake Lazarus; but for this (his humility and patience) he was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom."

When St. Ambrose declared that nature gave all things in common for the use of all, he proclaimed the right of all to a living from the earth and its products. The bounty of the earth was not created for particular persons or a particular class. "Nature knows not the rich," the same Ambrose said, "for she brings forth all poor and the earth receives them back stript of all." When the same writer declares that usurpation (*usurpatio*) created private right, it will be useful to remember that the Latin word may have the evil sense that we in-

variably attach to the English word, but again, it may mean simply to possess a thing thru positive action. Nature does not determine that this one, in preference to another, shall have abundance. That follows from other causes. When wealth is legitimately acquired St. Ambrose calls it "a gift from God;" and, because derived from God, he maintains that it comes to the rich charged with obligations toward the needy.

St. Augustine is quoted by Nitti, p. 67, as saying that "property is not a natural right, but a positive right, founded simply on authority." Augustine distinguishes between divine and human rights; but he says: "God has distributed to mankind these very human rights." The right of property, both real and personal, has its foundation in the natural law.

Your quotation from Pope Clement, which I also found in Bebel's "Woman," is not accurate. Nitti has Clement say "Private property is the fruit of iniquity." The latter is the better translation and is true, in a sense. If our first parents had not sinned we would not now be eating bread in the sweat of our brow; in a paradise, yielding a plentiful sustenance without labor or anxiety, there would be little need or desire for private ownership.

A careful study of the Scriptures, of the Fathers and of Catholic theologians will reveal the doctrine that private property, either in land or chattels, is not robbery. One and all, on the contrary, would condemn the proposal of the Socialists to confiscate all productive capital as stealing. }

"Fichte says whosoever has not the means of living is not bound to recognize or respect the property of oth-

ers, seeing that, as regards him, the principles of the social contract have been violated. Is not this true?"

Abstracting from the assumption of a social contract, of whose existence we are unaware, it may be said that the rights of property are not absolute. In extreme necessity one may take as much of another's property as is needed for the sustaining of life. He is bound to restitution, however, as soon as his economic condition takes a turn for the better.

"Please accept Eugene V. Debs as an authority. He asks: 'What is it that Socialism proposes?' His answer is: 'Simply that the tools workmen made and use and upon which their very lives depend shall be owned by themselves, that they may fully produce the things that are required to keep themselves and families in comfort and health.' Do you see anything wrong in this?"

Yes, if it is a question of appropriating tools or machines that the present band of workmen did not produce. The bare fact that other workmen were employed in making them gives the present workmen no title to their ownership. The latter could, of course, get lawful possession of the tools by purchase; but they need not wait for the introduction of Socialism to do that. If they wish to acquire possession thru legitimate means they can proceed to do so at once. If, on the other hand, private ownership of a given property proves a menace to life or health it can be controlled or taken away under our present system: we do not need Socialism for this any more than for the other.

I think Socialists generally would not understand Debs as meaning to acquire the means of production thru honest purchase, especially after hearing him say: "The

exploitation of class by class will cease—rent, interest and profit will be no more”(Social-Democratic Herald, January 14, 1905). Rent, interest and profit are stealing, according to Debs’ moral code; of course one cannot be expected to buy back stolen property; it is simply retaken. I wonder if Debs refuses interest on his bank deposits or declines to accept profit out of his lectures? Or is it less immoral to tax part of a person’s wage for listening to you than to tax part of his wage for giving him a living?

Speaking on this same question Charles H. Kerr, a well known Chicago Socialist and publicist, says, (*What to Read on Socialism*, p. 2.): “The end must be this, that the people who do the work will decide to own the trusts, abolish dividends, interest and rent, and let the present owners do their share of the work if they want to get their share of the good things produced by work. That is a suggestion of what Socialism means.”

The Rev. Charles H. Vail tells us in “Modern Socialism,” p. 152: “As to the confiscation of property. The misconception here relates to the justice of confiscation and is due to a failure to comprehend the nature of capitalist accumulations. The Socialist contends that all such is the result of spoliation and exploitation. The capitalist is able to appropriate the product of labor by reason of his ownership of certain means of production. Private property, then, in the instruments of production is unjust. The confiscation of private property is therefore just. If capital represents the fleecings of labor, no one can contend that its holders have claim to compensation on the ground of equity. The only ground upon which compensation can be argued is that of mercy or expediency.” Vail’s reasoning is that of all Socialists. An analysis will reveal a fatal flaw. The capitalist is

able to appropriate, not the entire product, but only a part of the product of labor and that justly, by reason of his ownership of tools, factory, raw materials, etc., as well as by reason of his ingenuity in foreseeing a want and supplying it, by reason of superintendence, marketing of the products, risk, etc. Of the net or clear earnings of the joint product of capital and labor, capital gets less than six cents (Lawson says less than five cents), while labor gets the rest of the dollar. If, then, capital is entitled to a certain return of the earnings, it cannot be true that "all capitalist accumulation is the result of spoliation and exploitation." Since capital per se does not represent the fleecings of labor we can contend and most justly, too, that its holders have a claim, in case of confiscation, to compensation on the ground of equity, and not merely on the ground of mercy or expediency. The Reverend gentleman has the assurance to tell his readers on p. 166 that "the Ethics of Socialism are the ethics of Christianity."

It might be said here that Socialists of the rank and file are fond of drawing a general conclusion from a few particular cases. They point out this or that capitalist, charge him with dishonest practises, with real and not merely imaginary fleecings, and then quite illogically conclude that all capital is acquired by exploitation or spoliation. You cannot conclude that all men must be black because you know some who are.

"Have the corporations a better right to their property than a private citizen to his home? My home can be condemned by a commission for whatever price it sets and be confiscated for the use of the public. Equal rights, I say, for all; special privileges for none."

When the state employs its right of eminent domain

it is supposed to have in view the public good, not the benefit of a corporation. The right of eminent domain is a public necessity. Justice requires, of course, that a fair compensation be made to the dispossessed.

“Is it not properly incumbent on those who charge Socialism with a desire to break the Commandment to steal, as purposing to confiscate that which capitalization now possesses, to first prove that capitalism rightfully owns or that it has earned what it has?”

In this country we do things differently—a man is innocent until proven guilty. We do not oblige people who own property to come into court and prove that they came by it honestly; much less would we think of confiscating their possessions until such proof is forthcoming. The last would be a violation of justice.

SOCIALISTS AND RELIGION

“What does the Church do for the poor man? Can he not stay at home just as well and serve God according to the dictates of his own conscience and leave the money for his family which he gives to the Church and priest?”

The average contribution of Catholics to their Church is in the neighborhood of 20 cents a week per family. Our people are expected to give according to their means; some give more than this, others less; some give nothing, others instead of giving are supported by the Church and its various charitable institutions. Churches and priests are needed for public worship, religious instruction and the ministration of the sacraments. The poor have a soul to save as well as the rich and a better chance to save it, as a rule.

“Are you in the employ or pay of any political or capitalistic party to give lectures against Socialism?”

No, I am not now and never have been. My invitation has always come from priest or bishop. It is not our purpose to help any political party, but simply to warn Catholics and others of the immoral features of Socialism. The priest is a religious teacher, not a political spellbinder.

“Have Catholics any duty in conscience in regard to Socialism? Is it true that they expose their faith by joining the Socialists? Is it morally wrong to defend Socialism?”

Catholics are bound in conscience to abandon the Socialist party, if members of the same; to keep out of

it, if they are not members. Even priests and ministers have made shipwreck of their faith thru association with Socialists. "Evil communications corrupt good manners." It is morally wrong to defend another wrong, such as stealing, loosening the marriage bond, etc. Every right-minded person, no matter what his religious affiliation, should do all in his power to combat the spread of International Socialism. "If," says Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, in "*Les Catholiques Liberaux*," p. 12, "the sophisms of Socialism are now so deeply rooted in the working classes of Europe, it depends in great measure on their having lost all religious belief. No longer trusting in heaven, or upheld by supernatural hopes, they pursue the only compensation they can discover. Revolutionary Socialism has supplanted their faith, and the more the strength of religion is weakened, the more ascendancy does its importunate heir acquire. There is no means of dissimulating this; it is no less a fact proved by experience than a truth of induction. Once let all religious sentiment disappear, and in the face of the fierce appetites let loose, the sole guarantee of social order is armed force,"

"Did not many eminent Catholic clergymen and economists belong to the Socialist movement before Leo's Encyclical on labor was issued? Did not the Catholic clergy give Lassalle the highest funeral honors?"

Both questions must be answered in the negative. Lassalle was a Jew, and was buried in the Jewish cemetery at Breslau. It did not require Leo's Encyclical to show the anti-Christian character of International Socialism. Cavour predicted a union between the Catholic Church and Socialism, between the Black and Red Inter-

nationals. If Cavour had known the Catholic Church he would not have risked that prophecy.

“Are there not many Catholics among the Socialists? Why do you not excommunicate them?”

I think a remark credited to Emile Vandervelde (Boston Review, May 23, 1903), leader of the Belgian Socialists, will apply to countries outside his own. He says he knows of not a single intelligent Catholic affiliated with the Socialists of Belgium, but that some ignorant ones are members—men too stupid to see the inconsistency of belonging to two hostile bodies at one and the same time. The Church does not excommunicate such, but tries to wean them from their unconscious errors by patient instruction.

“Is it not a fact that some men are driven away from their religious belief as well as to the saloon, because some teachers of the Gospel take sides with capital against labor?”

Does the average Socialist require to be driven away from the one or toward the other? The Catholic priest does not side with capital against labor; his office compels him to stand for truth and right, no matter who is helped or hurt; but his natural sympathy inclines him toward labor and toward the poor and unfortunate generally.

“If, as you contend, the Socialists are opposed to religion, how do you account for the Socialists in the Reichstag steadily voting for the re-admission of the Jesuits into Germany?”

It was not for love of the Jesuits or their faith that they voted so. Prominent members of their party have suffered similarly at the hands of the German Govern-

ment, which fact has made them sensitive to this sort of persecution.

"Christ was a Socialist. You are His minister. Why then are you not a Socialist?"

Christ loved poverty and chose it voluntarily for His portion. Socialists, on the contrary, condemn poverty and envy the possessions of their more fortunate, or more energetic, or more thrifty brethren.

"As Jesus Christ was the first Socialist and was doing His best for the poor and suffering, just as the Socialists are doing today, why are the churches in general and Catholics in particular so much opposed to Socialism?"

It is a mistake to suppose that the men who are shouting their love for the poor from the housetops are the only beings that know sympathy. What have the Socialists done in the past, or what are they doing now, for suffering humanity? We see them egging on workmen to strike against their employers, bidding them demand impossible wages, or impossible hours, and then gloating over their foredoomed defeat. They are constantly preaching class-hatred, appealing to the worst instincts of man, to his envy, pride, love of ease, etc. Christ constantly appealed to what is best in man, counseled contentment, humility, self-denial and He bade us bear the infirmities of one another: yea, even to love those who hate us. Christ's Church is continuing Christ's work.

Says Father Victor Cathrein in *Socialism*, p. 363: "For years we have carefully studied thousands of Socialist literary productions, but not once have we come across a passage exhorting the workingman to sobriety, patience, laboriousness, thrift, contentment, etc. On the contrary,

596932A

Socialist agitators inveigh against accursed frugality and contentment. Hatred against God, against Christianity and its ministers, against the possessing classes, is the usual text of their daily sermons. But hatred and fury sown among the masses are liable to produce a dangerous crop; and in the social upheaval thence resulting, these new Dantons and Robespierres may easily share the fate of their predecessors in the French Revolution."

"Is it true that Pope Leo XIII. was a Christian Socialist?"

Yes, if by Christian Socialism you mean the teaching of the encyclical "On the Condition of the Working Classes." Leo has advised that the words Catholic, Christian or Evangelical be not used in connection with Socialism, for the sake of avoiding confusion. Modern, so-called scientific Socialism, the Socialism of Karl Marx, of the International and of the American Socialist parties, is essentially materialistic and un-Christian.

"Quite agreeing with you that women ought not to go beyond their means in dressing, is it not also contrary to the teachings of Christ and His mode of living to spend vast sums of money for churches, especially for the unnecessary luxury of the interior and for pompous ceremonies, while a great army of its members live in want? Do you believe Christ would approve of this?"

Nothing too good for God is the motto of the Catholic. If the questioner knew, as we do, of the Real Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, he would not question the propriety of the elaborate interior of Catholic churches. Because Christ willed to be born in a stable is no reason why His devoted followers should keep Him in a barn ever after. Judas criticized Magdalen

for anointing the Savior with costly spikenard, saying it might have been sold for a large sum and the money turned over to the poor; but Christ approved of her expenditure. In the Old Law God gave express command that the Temple should be built of the most costly materials. The poor are benefited by the building and adornment of churches, since by this means surplus wealth is distributed among the workers. That is a better form of distribution than giving the same amount outright to the same class of men, which would tend to pauperize them. Experience proves furthermore that they who contribute to churches contribute very generously also to the needy. We do not approve, however, it is almost needless to remark, of plunging a parish into burdensome debt for the sake of putting up a fine church or school. |

“Christianity being your solution for economic inequalities, why do you not forbid Catholics to vote the Republican or Democratic ticket as well as the Socialist ticket?”

The Republican and Democratic parties are political. The Catholic Church has no direct interest either in politics or economics. It is not the business of the Church to provide us with a living or to dictate our form of government, or to pick out our civil rulers; its mission is to win souls to God. Christianity has the solution for all of society's ills insomuch as it lays down the principles that should guide us in our conduct one toward another. If these principles were observed there would be no labor troubles, no violence, no exploitation, no graft nor boodling.

“I wish to state as emphatically as I can that no

church has ever solved any great question on behalf of the people."

Your assurance is born of ignorance. \The Christian Church has brought forth our modern civilization; has taught man his true status as an immortal being called to be a citizen of heaven; has lifted woman from the degradation of a mere carnal toy to her rightful place at the side of man as his helpmate and life-partner; has broken the shackles of the slave; has reared asylums, orphanages, hospitals, correctional establishments for the care of the needy and the reclamation of the outcast; has converted savages into civilized peoples; has preached the brotherhood of the races; has encouraged art and fostered learning; has steadily striven to ameliorate the condition of the oppressed and succeeded admirably in her striving; has labored in one way or another thru a devoted clergy and self-immolating body of male and female religious, together with a responsive laity, to further the kingdom of God on earth. \There is work still to be done; there are wrongs that need to be righted, as there are lurking dangers that need to be exposed; but we are still here ready as of old, to give our lives for our brethren.

"Reform and progress have been brought about only after a terrific struggle with the Catholic Church and in spite of it. Socialism will triumph in spite of your attacks."

This is either the judgment of a bigot or else the undigested conclusion of a sciolist. I have told elsewhere of what the religion of Christ, as embodied in the Catholic Church, has done for the human family; let me add the testimony of two English Socialists, who happen

to be also learned men, H. M. Hyndman and William Morris, in "Summary of the Principles of Socialism," p. 11: "That the influence of the Catholic Church was, in the main, used in the interest of the people against the dominant classes can scarcely now be disputed; nor that the equality of conditions to start with in the organization itself was one of the great causes of its extraordinary success thruout the so-called dark ages. Catholicism in its best period raised one continuous protest against serfdom and usury, as early Christianity in its best form had denounced slavery and usury too."

"How do you propose to ameliorate the condition of the toilers who create all the wealth in the world, which is taken from them by gamblers, speculators, usurers and thru legal robbery, assisted by the capitalistic press and pulpit?"

I would not burn down my house to get rid of a few rats. Less destructive means are at hand. It is not true that the toilers create all the wealth in the world. Because press and pulpit will not admit this untruth, but hold that both capital and labor bear a share in wealth production, they are said to be in the service of capital and hostile to labor.

Usury and gambling are forbidden by law; but there are various kinds of speculation that are worse than either. Our form of government is elastic enough to reach and correct everyone of these. President Diaz, of the neighboring republic, smashed a corner in cereals in 1903 by inducing the Mexican congress to suspend the tariff temporarily and to buy large quantities abroad to be resold to the poor at and below cost. In olden times they used to hang men who raised the price of foodstuffs

by artificial means. A long term in the penitentiary would be a proper punishment for such.

"Honest labor is asking why they who produce surplus wealth are the poorest and lead the most wretched lives, while non-producers live in comfort and plenty. What remedy can the Church offer for these unjust conditions outside of the hope of an hereafter?"

The primary mission of the Church is to save souls thru the inculcation of virtue and faith in the grace of Christ. What a poor world this would be, even under the best possible management, if there were no hope of an hereafter! Perfect happiness cannot be found here below; yet we have been created for nothing less. Riches, worldly honors and pleasures cannot fill the void in the human breast that craves for God. The religious poor are undoubtedly more happy than the irreligious rich. Religion stands for sobriety, honesty, goodness, mutual love, justice. Carroll D. Wright, late Commissioner of Labor, tells us (Some Ethical Phases of the Social Question): "The ideal state of society is to be found only when religious elements predominate" (p. 10). "The labor question can be treated or solved only by the people who apply religion and knowledge at the same time to a specific question" (p. 19). "Sociology and religion involve an interweaving of interests and a recognition of a common source of existence of action and of ultimate end. Neither can be studied alone; they must be studied side by side as correlated forces, each acting upon the other, each determining the destiny of man, and hence of society" (p. 7). Inequality of material possessions may be accounted for in many ways; but it is a mistake to conclude that wherever found it must be the result of injustice.

"You are right in saying the Romanist Church is opposed to Socialism. Socialism presupposes intelligence and the Romanist Church has always stood for ignorance. Socialism presupposes justice and liberty, and the Romanist Church has always stood for tyranny and slavery. Socialism means the right of the individual to his own way of thinking, and the Romanist Church has always stood for the right of the Pope alone to think. Socialism would enable every man to live. Socialism stands for equal rights, while your Church denies that proposition. Socialism breeds love for all men, while Romanism breeds hate and fear. Socialism means progress, while Romanism means retrogression. Socialism preaches how to practice the Golden Rule; Romanism stands for all that makes its practise impossible. Romanism is one of the first powers at which we shall strike. Socialism is bound to win; you and I may see it, if we live fifteen years longer."

You say Socialism presupposes intelligence; is not the intelligence you speak of entirely a matter of supposition both pre and post? A parrot might be taught to say "I am the wisest old duffer in creation." It is customary to adjudge a person intelligent only when you see evidence of the same. What signs of superior intelligence do Socialists give? Would you offer your paper as one of the signs? Would it be a mark of advanced intelligence to turn over our factories, stores, transportation lines, farms, building operations, etc., to the community, to be administered by its representatives, by a newly created aristocracy of politicians? Does Socialism stand for intelligence of even the most ordinary sort when it asserts, with Karl Marx, that the bread and butter question is the motive

force of progress; or with Frederic Engels, that "the prime causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be traced, not to the heads of men, not to their increasing perception of eternal truth and justice, but to the changes in the manner of production and exchange. not to the philosophy but to the economics of the respective periods? Does Socialism stand for intelligence when it promises, thru its leading newspapers, that there shall be no railway disasters, no theater fires, no contagious diseases, no thievery, no violence, no harlotry, no idlers, no tramps in the Socialistic state? Do you speak intelligently when you declare that the Catholic Church has always stood for ignorance? An unkind remark coming from one we have helped to educate; for remember we save the American people \$25,000,000 each year by supporting our own better schools in addition to the public system. Try not to forget how much of your education you owe to our money. We give ungrudgingly, knowing the big gap to be filled. Would that we could give still more! Would that we could gather your half million Socialists into our own schools for a session or two and teach them the Ten Commandments together with their A B Cs.

You say Socialism presupposes justice. To couple Socialism with justice is like describing a Fiji belle's boots. If the Socialists came into power their first act would be a decree of general confiscation, and of confiscation without compensation.

You tell us Socialism means liberty. Socialists do well in fighting militarism; but why do you wish to turn the factory into a barracks and the country into a huge garrison? That is what the Co-operative Commonwealth must come to when you put it into actual work-

ing order ; for it is unreasonable to suppose that you can let every man choose his own occupation and place of residence. Your enfranchised "slaves" will have to do the work they are put to and in the locality selected for them and they will have to labor for the community, instead of for themselves, and have their wants supplied from Government magazines. Your picture of freedom is not so alluring after all, when one takes a second look.

You maintain that the Catholic Church stands for tyranny and slavery. Evidently you know as little about the Church as you do of Socialism. If Pope and Bishops are tyrants and slave drivers, we, who are members of the Church, have remained blissfully ignorant of the fact. Somehow or other they have succeeded in impressing the belief upon us that they are the truest and most disinterested friends we have. The Pope alone has the right to think, you say? The Catholic enjoys the liberty of the Christian, of the moral agent responsible to his Creator for the right use of his free will, both in thinking and doing: he may believe everything but error and he may do anything but evil.

Socialism would enable every man to live, you say. Substitute vegetate for live; to live includes something more than feeding from a common trough.

You assert that the Catholic Church denies equal rights. In some things it certainly does; if, for example, you own a certain object, it will deny every other man an equal right to the same. The would-be thief can find little comfort in the Catholic Church.

You say Socialism inculcates love toward all men. If you can find more bitterness, more venom, more downright lying, more hatred, more blackguardism, and greater hypocrisy anywhere else your experience is wider than

mine. You all hate the Catholic Church; you make no secret of that. Let me lift the veil of hypocrisy with which you try to hide your real motives: you oppose the Catholic Church because you see in her the bearer of Christ's truth and of Christ's moral code. Christianity and Socialism are in direct antagonism as regards principles, philosophy, methods and means for attaining the welfare of the human race. Socialism, cloak it as you will, is the laborer's worst foe; the Catholic Church, calumniate it as you please, is the laborer's best friend.

"You misrepresented George D. Herron, when you quoted him as a witness for the hostility of Socialism and Christianity. On p. 8 of his pamphlet, 'Why I Am a Socialist,' he tells us that Christianity can not possibly realize itself except under Socialism."

In the pamphlet you speak of Herron designates Socialism itself as a religion, but as "altogether outside of historic religious institutions," one that "has come upon the world so unawares that it does not even know itself as religious or spiritual, but is nought else than the coming of the Son of man to a consciousness of himself as a Son of God." The religion of Christ has not come upon the world unawares; its origin and spread are historic facts; it has not needed to await the Co-operative Commonwealth for the fulfilment of its mission. As Herron exerts considerable influence upon the Socialist body of America, and was at one time the religious editor of the *International Socialist Review*, let us understand his attitude toward Christianity. He is quoted by Goldstein in "*Socialism: the Nation of Fatherless Children*," p. 93, as saying: "Christianity today stands for what is lowest and basest in life. The church of today sounds the lowest note in human life. It is the most degrading of all our

institutions and the most brutalizing in its effects on the common life. The church is simply organized Christianity. For Socialism to use it, to make terms with it, or to let it make approaches to the Socialist movement, is for Socialism to take Judas to its bosom."

"If a sufficient number of Catholics and Protestants affiliated with the Socialist party do you not believe that these could give a Christian direction to the movement?"

That was tried in Germany and met with failure. There is an irreconcilable conflict between the two. "Democratic Socialism," says Schaeffle, "is actually and of inherent necessity the deadly foe of the Christian Church." The Sozialdemokrat, official organ of the German Socialists, declared July 17, 1884: "You idealists may exert yourselves, you may multiply your learned dissertations, Social Democracy will remain what it has always been, atheist and materialist." Says Bax, the English Socialist, in "The Religion of Socialism:" "The establishment of society on a Socialistic basis would imply the definite abandonment of all theological cults." On p. 52 he says: "Socialism utterly despises the 'other world,' with all its stage properties—that is, the present objects of religion." The present leader of the large army of Socialists in Germany, August Bebel, tells us: "We wish in politics the republic, in economy Socialism, and in religion atheism."

The official programs of Gotha and Erfurt declared religion to be a private matter, with which it would not be right to meddle. Repeated attempts were made to tear out this plank; but Socialist leaders declared that it must be kept in, for the sake of gaining recruits. (Protocol of the convention of Halle, 1890, pp. 174, 175, 185, 188 and 190.) Once we have established the Socialist

state, remarked one of the speakers at that convention (Ib. p. 197), we will make short work of religion.

Socialists expatiate upon the rights of men, but give little thought to the rights of God. They consider man a mere material being, in this following the lead of their founder, Karl Marx. Says Appeal to Reason, May, 1903: "When Marx analyzed society and found that ethics, morals and religions are all the products of economic or material conditions, he was able to predict with certainty the future conduct of society, even as does the astronomer predict the coming of an eclipse." According to which we are no more capable of intelligent or free action than the stars in the heavens. Now we know very well that we are free and intelligent agents and that our moral code and our Christian faith are not the product of material conditions. Both the one and the other are of divine origin. Marx's view is the view of Socialist leaders generally. It need not be pointed out that this view is in direct conflict with the Christian view. It is then easy to see why priests and ministers, joining the Socialist movement to give it a Christian direction, are soon obliged to give over their hopeless undertaking, or failing to get out of the movement, lose whatever belief in Christianity they possess before. I need but mention George D. Herron and William Thurston Brown to demonstrate the influence of Socialism upon the Protestant minister, and McGrady and Hagerty to show how it affects even the Catholic priest. The former of the ex-priests was more intemperate in his abuse of the Catholic Church and hierarchy than any old-time A. P. A. lecturer. He was reported to have said before a Boston audience: "If Jesus Christ were on the Democratic ticket and Judas Iscariot on the Socialist ticket, I would vote for Judas

Iscariot." Father McGrady returned to the faith before his death, November 27, 1907. Hagerty counseled the miners at Telluride, Col., on July 3, 1902, to loot the local banks and stores.

George D. Herron, at one time a Congregational minister and professor of Applied Christianity at Iowa College, after his identification with Socialism, made the remark quoted on a preceding page. This man had most to do, I believe, with writing the Socialist platform adopted in the last Chicago convention. Brown, at one time pastor of Plymouth Church, Rochester, N. Y., had the following to say: "I imagine, indeed, that in anything worthy to be called a Co-operative Commonwealth there will be no use for the profession which has consumed some of the best years of my life. * * * I cannot conceive a place in any sane social system for a profession, whose dogmas and doctrines call for abandonment of reason and suppression of science. The clerical profession lives today only because ignorance and superstition remain." (Goldstein, "Socialism, etc." p. 125.)

"Socialism respects every man's religion."

You, probably, are one of the unsophisticated dues-payers, who have been told that Socialism stands for everything that is good. The leaders of your party, however, have no delicacy about publishing their views on religion and they show an utter lack of tolerance for the religious convictions of others.

Says the New York Volkszeitung, the leading German organ of the Socialist party: "Socialism is not logical unless it denies the existence of God." Liebknecht said: "It is our duty as Socialists to root out the faith in God with all our zeal, nor is any one worthy the name who does not consecrate himself to the spread of athe-

ism." Shall was applauded in Stuttgart when he said: "We open war upon God, because he is the greatest evil in the world." Marx, *Kapital* (the Bible of Socialists), vol. i., p. 19, teaches: "The abolition of religion, as the deceptive happiness of the people, is a necessary condition of their true happiness."

French Socialists are one in their opposition to the Catholic Church and every other form of organized religion. They kept urging Combes and Clemenceau to severer measures of persecution. If they had their way they would close the churches of France, as they have succeeded in closing the religious schools and expelling their teachers. The leaders of the Socialist party in Italy congratulated Clemenceau in the first week of 1907 and expressed their joy over the spoliation and harrassing of the Catholic Church in France.

When the body of the late Pope lay in state and all the world offered homage to the great and good pontiff, whom Bismarck was forced to concede the most magnanimous and most talented man in the century, the only discordant note, according to the Associated Press, July 22, 1903, was sounded by the Socialist organ, *Avanti*, which said: "We Socialists, without disdain, but with indifference, pass before the corpse and await the new enemy." Spanish Socialists show their hostility to the Church in word and action. In its issue of December 5, 1903, *Appeal to Reason* gives us a sample of Socialist intolerance in Spain. Fire engines were used by a mob to shower kerosene upon a Jesuit cloister. The building with its valuable library and other treasures was totally destroyed; but the priests, whom it was intended to burn, were rescued by the military. *Appeal to Reason*, May

16, 1903, declares: "Socialism means the same in every land."

Such men would have us trust ourselves to their sense of fair play for the privilege and permission to build churches, for the education of the clergy, etc. They say the will of the majority shall determine all these matters and in the meantime they propose to educate the majority into atheism. The English, French, Belgian, Austrian, as well as German Socialist congresses have declared against all religious and private schools and colleges. Bebel declares that it will not be possible for the clergy to secure a theological training, as every form of education will be monopolized by the state and there will be no room in its schools for transcendental nonsense; that churches and religious endowments will be confiscated; that religious literature will not be permitted to see the light of day, etc.

"It is not what certain individuals may have said that constitutes the position of the Socialist party; only the platforms are authoritative. The Erfurt program declares religion to be a private matter—'ecclesiastical and religious bodies are to be regarded as private associations, which order their affairs independently.'"

When confronted with the testimony of individuals and of the party press, Socialists invariably fall back upon platforms and demand that their declarations alone be considered authoritative. It is not from platforms that we learn the principles and drift of political parties, knowing, as we do, that these are constructed primarily to catch votes and say as little as possible. The Chicago platform, however, adopted this plank: "As an American Socialist Party we pledge our fidelity to the principles of International Socialism, as embodied in the united

thought and action of the Socialists of all nations." The Erfurt program declares religion a private matter; but the same congress demands secularization of the schools and compulsory attendance of all children at the public schools. The later Dresden (1903) congress declares that these schools shall be atheistic, eliciting the following comment from one of the party organs, the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, No. 204: "It was time that the party should officially interpret its old principle that religion is the affair of the individual only. It would be a mark of cowardice not to acknowledge openly exactly where the party stands on so vital a subject as that of religion. Our program, as it is now formulated, is based on scientific principles. The party must, in its own interests, be against religion and the church."

Religion could not be a wholly private affair in the Socialistic state. We would need land upon which to erect our churches and religious institutions; we would need labor power, materials for building; we would need seminaries, religious publications, and a hundred other things which the state alone could furnish. Now the Erfurt program declares definitely: "Abolition of all expenditures of public money for ecclesiastical and religious purposes." This clause follows immediately upon the other: "Religion to be declared a private matter," and is part of the same plank.

The Brunn (Austrian) Program reads: "Declaration that religion is a private matter. Separation of the church from the state and declaration that ecclesiastical and religious communities are private associations which manage their affairs quite independently." There will not be much to manage nor many religious communities

in existence when every one will have to work for and be dependent upon the state for his support.

The Belgian Program of 1895 expresses its adherence to the principle of religious freedom in still another way: "The separation of church and state, religion being considered as a private matter, the suppression of religious expenses and the return to the nation of property 'in mortmain,' both personal and real, pertaining to religious corporations, as well as all industrial and commercial property of these corporations." The will of the individuals who made donations or created endowments for specific religious purposes is to be thwarted and their gifts, together with the earnings of the religious, are to be stolen—all in the name of religious freedom. This demand of the Belgian Socialists is an immediate one. All Socialists propose to do the same "returning" of other people's property to the nation, to which it does not belong, as soon as they get sufficient political power.

That the Socialists are ready to carry out the actual confiscation of property devoted to religious ends, just as soon as the occasion offers, is proved by their parliamentary action in France. The Tours Program of 1902 declared: "Abolition of the congregations; nationalization of the property in mortmain, of every kind, belonging to them, and appropriation of it for works of social insurance and solidarity; in the interval all industrial, agricultural and commercial undertakings are to be forbidden to the congregations." Property to the value of millions of dollars, which was used primarily in the cause of education and religion, has been stolen since then, with the enthusiastic support of the French Socialists. Of course, they would not call this stealing; they simply "devoluted" and "nationalized" the property.

At the congress of Austrian Socialists in Linz in 1898, according to a report in *Vorwaerts*, No. 126, the following resolution of Pernerstorfer was adopted "with thunderous applause": "Socialism is directly contradictory to Roman clericalism, which is enslaved to unyielding authority, immutable dogmas and absolute intellectual thralldom. We doubt all authority, we know of no immutable dogma, we are the champions of right, liberty and conscience. Besides the struggle for the economic demands of the working class we also combat for the highest spiritual possessions. And this ancient struggle between light and darkness will be decided in favor of light, in favor of Socialism." This reads like an editorial from the *Social Democratic Herald*. Champions of liberty and conscience indeed!

At the Madrid convention of Spanish Socialists (1899) it was resolved "to expel any comrade who supported positive religion." Another evidence of how Socialists understand and interpret "Religion is a private matter." The fact of the matter is that, deny it as they will, Socialists cannot hide their hostility to and contempt for organized Christianity.

"Liebknecht bears out our contention that religion is to be held a private matter in the Socialistic state. He says: 'We declare religion to be a private matter. The Social Democracy as such has absolutely nothing to do with religion. Every man has the right to think and believe what he will, and no one has the right to molest or limit his thoughts or beliefs. These opinions and beliefs must be free, perfectly free.'"

Is this the sense in which the Gotha and Erfurt Programs, that religion is a private matter, is to be taken: we shall have the right to think and believe what we will?

I have no doubt that the Socialistic state would allow so much as this—freedom merely of thought and belief. Was it necessary, however, to make such a superfluous concession? How could it prevent anyone from thinking or believing as he pleased, since both actions are purely mental?

“Socialism does not attack any church or religion; but if the Catholic or any church chooses to enter the field against it, Socialists will know how to defend themselves.”

We are warned not to fight Socialism and, at the same time, are given to understand that Socialists only attack Christianity because the Church has arrayed itself against their movement. If the state were organized on the Socialistic plan, it would possess a very effective means of “defending” itself; it could drive the offending church, Catholic, Protestant or Jewish, completely out of existence. The church could only live with the leave and good will of the state. If one or the other church undertook to denounce the wrongful seizure of property; or the iniquity of putting the law of man above the moral law—the law of God; or some other principle or practice put forward by Socialist leaders and publications, as I am doing now, that church would be made to feel the anger of the state. What denomination would willingly submit to such dependence upon the state, to such an enslavement of its highest functions?

I was told by a ministerial Socialist, the Rev. Carl D. Thompson, that “if a priest does not know enough to stay within the limits of his duties as a priest and undertakes to fight Socialism, then he must take the consequences of his mistake.” Just what these consequences are was not told me. Another Milwaukee Socialist,

Victor L. Berger, leader of the local band of comrades, uttered the threat: "If capitalistic Jesuits and Jesuitic capitalists will persist in the way they have started, we shall have a repetition of the French revolution on a thousandfold greater scale and make it more thoro work next time" (Social Democratic Herald, January 28, 1905). They would frighten us into silence if they could.

"You said that the Socialists will expect everyone to work for the community, not excepting the priest. They will not require anyone to work; employment will be provided for them. If an association of people see fit to pay a man to preach or attend to their spiritual wants, they can support him out of their private funds."

I have not heard from anyone competent to speak for Socialists that labor checks will be transferable like ordinary money. Prominent writers say the opposite. If labor checks become transferable, how will you prevent men from dealing in them, from loaning at interest or making them productive in other ways? These are the very things Socialists wish to put an end to, at the expense of course, of liberty and individuality. Under Socialism the state will be the sole employer. Bebel, leader of the German Socialists, tells us in his portrayal of the Socialistic state, that the minister of the Gospel will have a double work to perform: to labor like every other citizen for his material support and between times to minister to his flock. "Those who still have religious needs," he writes in *Woman* (Benham's Ed., p. 146), "can satisfy them in the company of fellow-believers. Society will not interfere. The priest must perform his share of social labor, and as this is full of instruction for him as well as for others, perhaps the time will come for him, too, in which he recognizes that the highest aim in life is to

be a human being." Should the dying Catholic request the urgent attendance of his pastor, he might be told that he is motorman on a suburban car and cannot call until his trip is finished or his day's work ended. Appeal to Reason agrees with Bebel.

It is not true to say that in the Co-operative Commonwealth no one will be obliged to work. It will be: "Work at this job which I set you to or starve!"

"What is to follow our present social order?"

Heaven, I hope.

SOCIALISTS AND THE FAMILY

“Is it not true that the capitalistic system is ruinous to the home life? It forces women and children into factories to lower the wages of men who have families to support and allows young men such meager wages that they cannot afford to marry.”

Forcing men to compete with women and women to compete with children is one of the most grievous ills that society is at present suffering from. But like all the other ills incidental to our present industrial system, this, too, can be corrected. How? In one of several ways. First, by agreement among employers that every capable male adult shall get a living family wage. Such an agreement, however, is hardly to be looked for under our present cut-throat competition. Secondly, by concerted action of the workingmen themselves accepting nothing less. Organized labor has been able to secure by this means a living family wage for its members. First and second failing, there still remains a third remedy: action by Government fixing a minimum wage for men, women and children. We shrink from the last, but desperate ailments require drastic treatment; the state should not permit its workmen to be ground to pieces by unrestrained competition.

Woman's place, allowing for exceptions, is in the home. When she is obliged to leave her family and earn her own living, she is entitled to a man's living family wage, so long as she does a man's work.

The living wage should be paid before dividends are declared; otherwise you reverse the laws of nature, put-

ting money or property on an equal footing with human lives.

"Does Socialism or capitalism cause the thousands of divorces annually?"

Neither. Divorce springs from a lowered standard of morality; from a disregard of the sacredness of the marriage relation; sometimes from the brutality of the marriage partner; most often from lust.

"Marriage in the Roman Catholic Church is nothing more than a verbal agreement."

It is much more than that. It is a contract, entered into between one man and one woman, agreeing to take each other as husband and wife, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, till death do them part. It is a solemn contract entered into before witnesses; it is a contract hallowed by religion, a true sacrament. Marriage is intended primarily for the propagation of the human family; it is not a mere cloak to cover sensuality. Too often the family interests and the interest of the state are lost sight of. Says Felix Adler: "Those who have united to give life to a human being must stay united to cherish and develop that life."

"You spring the old bug-a-boo about Socialists wanting free love, etc., and in the same breath you admit that you do not think the rank and file want it, but you say many of the leaders do. As under Socialism we will always have the right of suffrage, do you mean to assert that any sane man would vote for free love or take away the children from their parents?"

It is not a question of sanity, but of morality. Granted that your leading publications and many of your

most prominent teachers advocate that love be made the sole tie in marriage, do you not see the danger of contamination? It requires much fortitude to resist successfully one's unclean passions. The downward path is always easy. It will not take much persuasion to induce men to do what they would like to do, especially if a semblance of right can be given to the wrong.

I found the baldest free love, or rather free lust, taught in books that were recommended, as well as printed, by Socialist publishing houses, as f. i. Carpenter's "Love's Coming of Age," Kerr's "The Folly of Being Good," Bebel's "Woman." The International Socialist Review glorified ex-Reverend George D. Herron's love union a couple of years ago, and nominated it "A Socialist Wedding." Carpenter says, p. 115: "The life of the Hetaira, that is of the woman who chooses to be the companion of more than one man, might not be (in the Socialistic state) without dignity, honor and sincere attachment." On p. 124 he says: "The subjection of sex relations to legal conventions is an intolerable bondage." Kerr says, p. 23: "Love is what makes your union sacred and the marriage ceremony has nothing to do with it." In courtship he tells the man (p. 22) "you have no right to any more privileges than she chooses to give to you." The editor of the most widely read of all Socialist papers, Appeal to Reason, was asked on one occasion to give the Socialist view on marriage. He said (February 21, 1903) that the Communist Manifesto defines its attitude. That Manifesto says: "What the Communists (Socialists) might possibly be reproached with, is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalized community of women." He quotes Engels in the same answer, who teaches, in effect,

that in the Socialistic state "women will not surrender themselves to any man for any other reason but love, nor refuse to surrender to their lover from fear of economic consequences." i. e., the support of the child, etc. If this does not mean free love, what can it mean? "A new race will spring up," we are told, "that will not give a moment's thought to what we today believe should be their course. They will follow their own practise and fashion their own public opinion about the individual practise of every person—only this and nothing more" (Engels' "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State").

The attention of the editor of Appeal to Reason was called to the preceding reference and his answer is characteristic of Socialists generally: "Father Kress has simply been yelling 'stop thief' to distract attention from the practises in vogue under this capitalist system which he so warmly upholds. . . . He is not a fool, but he takes the public and his followers to be fools, who will believe anything he may say. . . . Capitalism means free lust. Father Kress defends it." Such are the tactics of Socialists. The famous English novelist and Socialist, H. G. Wells, disapproves of this "extraordinary instinct for taking cover" manifested by English, and still more by American Socialists, when their "most jealously guarded secret—the relation of Socialism to the institution of the family" is broached. He says in *The Independent*, November 1, 1906:

"It is possible to believe that, so far as the middle classes are concerned, this discretion, this delicacy, has been carried altogether too far. Socialists would have forwarded their cause better if they had been more outspoken. The middle class family, I am increasingly convinced, is a group in a state of tension. I believe that a

modest but complete statement of the Socialist criticism of the family and the proposed Socialist substitute for the conventional relationships, might awaken extraordinary responses at the present time. The great terror of the eighties and early nineties is, I believe, altogether over."

The foremost German Socialist, August Bebel, in "Woman in the Future," declares: "Human beings must be in a position to act as freely, where their strongest impulse is concerned, as in the case of any other natural instinct. The gratification of the sexual impulse is as strictly the personal affair of the individual as the gratification of every other natural instinct. No one has to give an account of him or herself, and no third person has the slightest right of intervention." The girl growing up under Socialism, he tells us in the same chapter, will "enjoy amusements and recreation with her own sex or with men, exactly as she pleases and occasion offers."

Gabriel Deville, a French Socialist, in his introduction to a translation of Marx's *Capital*, says: "Marriage is a regulation of property. * * * When property is transformed, and only after that transformation, marriage will lose its reason for existence, and boys and girls may then freely and without fear of censure, listen to the wants and promptings of their nature. * * * The support of the children will no longer depend on the chance of birth. Like their instruction, it will become a charge of society. There will be no room for prostitution or for marriage, which is in sum nothing more than prostitution before the mayor."

Morris and Bax in their "Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome," contend that "marriage should be a voluntary association, dissoluble by either party at pleasure." In

"Outlooks From the New Standpoint," Bax (p. 151) says: "There are few points on which the advanced Radical and Socialist are more completely in accord than in their theoretical hostility to the modern legal monogamic marriage." On pp. 159 and 160 he makes this declaration: "Socialism will strike at the root at once of compulsory monogamy and of prostitution by inaugurating an era of marriage based on free choice and intention and characterized by the absence of external coercion. For where the wish for the maintenance of the marriage relation remains, there external compulsion is unnecessary; where it is necessary, because the wish has disappeared, there it is undesirable. The above is all we can foresee in the matter." On p. 160 he says: "Meanwhile we ought to combat by every means within our power the metaphysical dogma of the inherent sanctity of the monogamic principle." The foremost English Socialist of today, H. M. Hyndman, hopes to see the time "in which the relations between the sexes will be quite free from any sense of responsibility." Socialist Victor Grayson was elected to Parliament, in July, 1907, from the Colne Valley division, with the abolition of marriage as part of his published program.

Karl Pearson tells us in "The Ethic of Free Thought," p. 430, that Socialism will bring about "the complete emancipation of our sisters." "Children apart," he says, on p. 427, "it is unbearable that church or society should in any official form interfere with lovers." "The sex relationship," he says on p. 426, "both as to form and substance, ought to be a pure question of taste, a simple matter of agreement between the man and her, in which neither society nor the state would have any need or right to interfere."

Similar quotations might be cited by the score David Goldstein in his valuable book, "Socialism: The Nation of Fatherless Children," has a chapter of 74 pages on Free Love, filled with testimonies taken from Socialist writers.

Engels declared: "Three great obstacles block the path of social reform—private property, religion and the present form of marriage."

Free love seems to be the position of Socialist leaders generally. Mrs. Caroline Corbin, in *Labor and Capital*, April, 1903, says: "I have been a faithful student of Socialism for thirty years. I have read many books on the subject, have carefully watched its public action and read all the declarations and programs of its various congresses that I could discover by careful search in that time. I have conversed with some eminent European advocates of the system with the express purpose of elucidating this very point, as to whether Socialism would recognize civic or Christian marriage, and I have failed to discover a shred of evidence that it would do so." Miss Eleanor Marx stated in her presence (*Chicago Tribune*, November 14, 1906): "Love is the only recognized marriage in Socialism, consequently no bonds of any kind would be required. Divorce would be impossible, as there would be nothing to divorce, for when love ceased, separation would naturally ensue." She was at that time traveling in the United States with Dr. Aveling, as Mrs. Aveling, tho her companion had at that time an invalid wife in London. When the wife died he cast off Miss Marx and married another, upon which the free-love wife committed suicide.

These men and women seem to be of one mind with the leaders of the French revolution, who led a harlot to

the Church of Notre Dame in solemn procession, placed her naked above the altar of the cathedral, her feet trampling the crucifix, and, bowing to the dust, proclaimed her the Goddess of Reason. There is nothing better calculated to degrade human nature, to blight the vigor of the body, to dull the intellectual faculties, to extinguish noble aspirations, to deaden every sentiment of piety, of reverence and love, than the free and indiscriminate indulgence of the bestial passion. God save us from such a loathsome saturnalia of lust as they would give us.

The author addressed a note to the last national Socialist convention (Chicago, 1904) asking the delegates to define the party's position on marriage and to repudiate the Free Love utterances of the leaders if they disagreed with them. The communication was ignored. The convention devoted hours to the discussion of the trivial question whether or not smoking should be permitted in the convention hall, but could find no time to put itself on record against Free Love.

The Social Democratic Herald of Milwaukee pretended to be shocked at, and State Organizer Thompson scandalized by the author's references to Free Love; yet the former gave its most prominent space to a communication containing the following: "'Love is the only recognized form of marriage.' Socialists are immensely proud to stand for this. Love can and should be the only bond of marriage."

The man Earle, with the "artistic temperament," who in the summer of 1907 dismissed his French wife to wed his "affinity," is a Socialist, and so are the "affinity" and the wife.

It is but just to mention that some Socialist authors, like Kautsky in "Das Erfurter Program," p. 41, maintain

that the new marriage relation will create the ideal family, since love it is that should rule the home, and that its stability will not be seriously menaced. But free love must inevitably lead to the promiscuity of free lust in a society that acknowledges no higher law than individual desires or mutual inclinations.

"Why do you speak of a Socialist wedding as being different from that of any other? I was married by a Baptist minister and I consider my marriage just as binding as any other Protestant marriage."

I was not speaking of the marriage of Socialists generally, but of that of Professor George D. Herron and Miss Carrie Rand, "announced" on the last Saturday of May, 1901, which was proclaimed by the press as "A Socialist Wedding" and was written up for the *International Socialist Review* for June, 1901, under the same caption. The writer of the article in question was Leonard D. Abbot. Herron, it appears, had been living with Miss Rand previous to the "Annunciation Service." There was a former wife, it is said, and a couple of children living in poverty in Iowa. The scandal was such that the Congregational Church took action to dismiss him for conduct unbecoming a minister and a gentleman. The "Annunciation Service" took place in New York City, in the presence of an "inner circle of comradeship," and was conducted by Rev. William Thurston Brown, at that time pastor of Plymouth Church, Rochester. His address is characterized as a poem in prose. It is too long to transcribe in full, but selections culled here and there, will illustrate its beauty and lack of morality:

"I cannot but feel—as all of us must today—the impotence of words fittingly to express or announce to the world that which this occasion means. This is the time

and place for the muse of a poet, the speech of a god; the office of priest or magistrate were an intrusion here. * * We are not here to establish a relationship which otherwise would not have been. We are not here to inaugurate or consummate a marriage. No words of ours or any one's can add to or take from the truth and solemnity of the sublime fact of a reciprocal love uniting soul to soul by a sanction in presence of which all human enactments seem profane and impertinent, for this is the supreme sacrament of human experience. Nor are we here to lend our countenance to that divine event of which it is our privilege to be witnesses. That which is essentially and elementally true gains nothing from the sanction of individuals or states or nations. * * * This is a day of courage and cheer. It has for the world only a message of freedom and fellowship. It anticipates the dawn of a higher life for all. It proclaims the sanctity and omnipotence of love. * * * In asserting the limitless freedom and the boundless authority of love they (these friends of ours) but disclose the full-orbed liberty of the sons of God and anticipate a world's emancipation. * * * Inasmuch, therefore, as George D. Herron and Carrie Rand are thus united together by the bond of a reciprocal love, I announce that they are husband and wife by every law of right and truth."

Richard LeGallienne, the poet, was present and when asked "to make a verbal offering to the consummation of this love-union," said: "All the friends that Mr. and Mrs. Herron love will love them forever, and will love them all the better because they have had the courage to stand up and say they love each other and that love is all the marriage they need."

William Mailly, former secretary of the American

Socialist party, was happy to be present in that inner circle. Mrs. Ralph Waldo Trine read a poem, composed for the occasion, on "The Land of the Heart's Desire," in which she immortalizes her brave hero:

And then this earnest soul made grand reply,
 I, like the others who have gone before,
 Traveling thru unknown, untried, devious ways,
 Seek, not for self alone this wondrous land,
 But going before and hewing out the way
 Make clearer for those following on the path."

* * * * *

"Then comes one clad in white, with radiant face,
 And sits beside him clasping close his hand,
 And tells to him, in accents rich with love,
 Of this strange land to which he late has come.
 How in this land glad comradeship abides,
 And love and peace and mutual benefit.
 'For know,' he says, 'that in this glorious land
 None are in bondage, each and all are free.'
 He leaves him, and a woman glorified
 Comes gently to him, and with loving look,
 And rapture filling all her voice,
 Speaks of the time before she found this place,
 Of years of sorrow and of dark despair;
 But how at last she finds what sought
 In this glad land among the sons of God,
 Finds freedom and the rapture that it brings."

Franklin H. Wentworth, a few years later, on the staff of Appeal to Reason, closed the Talkfest. "I believe," he said, "that the high service of each will be helped by the fact of these two souls working side by side in mutual sustainment, united—yet free. In the very

fact that so large a number of persons as are here assembled can be inspired by the same ideal, I see a demonstration that the truth is beginning to force its way and dramatize itself in reference to every human institution. There seems in the gathering of such a company a hint of the dawning of the day when the spirit of freedom shall rule the world—freedom of the body, and freedom of the soul.”

Abbot concludes his article: “And as she (the love-wife) played, the memory of a ghoulish press, of human vultures, of slave-marriage, of cruel capitalism, was blotted out. We saw only the vision of the New Life of Socialism, when the love that made this union holy shall be the only basis of marriage, and when this love, stretching out, shall embrace the common life of the world.”

What gives significance to the above is the fact that it was published in the leading Socialist review of the country—“A Monthly Journal of International Socialist Thought”—and that the title of the article, “A Socialist Wedding,” was given, not by enemies, but by friends. Stript of high-flowing phrases, and of its veil of hypocritical pretense, the article announces Herron’s love-union as the ideal Socialistic wedding and lays down the principle, subversive of all order and decency, that men and women may consider themselves husband and wife, if only they love each other, and just as long as they love each other. A contract, binding the parties for life, is called a slave-marriage; yet such is marriage as instituted by God and proclaimed anew by Christ. Its principal object is not personal gratification, but the perpetuation of the race, together with the proper bringing up of children. Says St. Paul (1 Cor. 7, 39): “A woman is bound by the law so long as her husband liveth, but if her hus-

band die she is at liberty." The same holds true of the husband: "Whosoever shall put away his wife and marry another, committeth adultery against her" (Mark, 10, 11).

"Does the Catholic Church hold woman in every way equal to man? Does it advocate the use of the ballot by women?"

No to the first, nor does it hold one man in every way equal to any other man. There are not two beings in the entire world equal in every particular. In all that regards the dignity of her person she is man's equal. In the household she is subordinate to the man, according to St. Paul, Eph. 5, 23. Concord and order require that there be one head. The Catholic Church does not concern itself about a purely political question like that of the ballot for women.

"We are told that in the Socialistic state wives will not have to drudge as now. There will be large kitchens, where food will be prepared for the public and served in a common dining room."

A start has already been made in the state prisons; but the guests, I believe, do not vote it an entire success. When the state undertakes to feed you, it may not concern itself much about your likes or dislikes.

"Today nine out of ten women marry because they need somebody who will clothe and house them; this is forced love and cannot eventuate save in domestic strife and divorce. Amongst the upper classes it is still worse, marriage being a money relation only. Remove the economic barrier and free love will result, for then no man or woman will be obliged to sell his or her love. Love is too sacred a thing to be put on the market for sale."

I presume nine out of ten women expect to have their material needs supplied by their husbands. In the normal family the wife has charge of the household while the husband is the provider. If she is dependent upon him for her support he is also dependent upon her for his support. Nine out of ten women could provide for themselves at honest work without a husband; oftentimes much better without than with. If women were ruled by economic conditions alone, they could find less drudgery and easier conditions in single blessedness. Wise men and women are not controlled in their choice of a life-partner by love alone. Love is a bubble and easily burst; they look for character, virtue, industry, capability, etc. Should a woman sell herself to a husband for position merely, or for an indulgent and idle life, she deserves the unhappiness that is sure to follow. We need waste no sympathy upon her.

The questioner believes that there are more unhappy marriages in the upper than in the humbler classes. If that be true the blame cannot be laid upon economic conditions, since the daughters of well-to-do families are not dependent upon their husband's support.

SOCIALISTS AND EDUCATION

"After Socialism is inaugurated will private schools be tolerated?"

That would, of course, depend upon the will of the majority. The Socialist party, however, has officially declared that none but state schools shall be tolerated. Upon no one point does there seem to be greater unanimity. The Erfurt Program (1891) demands "Universal and equal education of the people by the state; universal compulsory education." This means that the state is to become the sole educator, as well as sole employer and sole store-keeper. The Belgian Program (1895) declares for "Secular compulsory and complete education for all children to be conducted at the cost of the community, represented by the state or communes." Similar planks were adopted at the later Brussels convention and at the Austrian congress of Vienna in 1897 and Brunn in 1901; at the French convention of Tours in 1902; in the Revised Program of the Social Democratic Federation and in the Independent Labor party program for 1903-4 in England. In the classic land of Socialism, Germany, the Dresden congress of 1903 adopted the following plank: "No religious instruction of any kind shall be given to children under the age of sixteen; after that they can select their own religious tenets and teachings, as they please. Superstitious religious notions, that are current among the less educated classes, are to be eradicated thru proper instruction."

The Tours Program declares: "The Socialist party needs, to organize the new world, free minds, emanci-

pated from superstitions and prejudices. It asks for and guarantees every human being, every individual, absolute freedom of thinking and writing and affirming their beliefs. Over against all religions, dogmas and churches, as well as over against the class conceptions of the bourgeoisie, it sets the unlimited right of free thought, the scientific conception of the universe and a system of public education based exclusively on science and reason." There is to be unlimited right of free thought and teaching when these are directed against "all religions, dogmas and churches;" but the same right is to be withheld from the representatives of religion, for the same Program ordains: "State monopoly of education at the three stages (elementary, secondary and higher); as a means toward this, all members of the regular and secular clergy to be forbidden to open and teach in a school." Everyone knows how faithfully the Socialists of France are carrying out their Program at the present time.

The Chicago Socialist convention endorsed Tours and Dresden when it pledged "its fidelity to the principles of International Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations."

"You oppose Socialism because the Socialist party would banish superstition, prejudice and dogmatism and would establish freedom of thought and speech."

The questioner refers to the declaration of the Tours Program, which says that the only schools tolerated will be such as shall combat "all religions, dogmas and churches." The same convention attempts to justify its action by classing all religions and dogmas as superstitions. All revealed religion is superstition to the free-thinker and Socialist. Shall the latter be empowered to

determine what we may believe and what we must reject?

"You Catholics fear that the superior efficiency of our public schools, with their vastly better trained and educated teachers, and infinitely better and more scientific methods will supplant your parochial schools."

We have no such fear, for the reason that our public schools are not superior to our select or parochial schools. We would not be flattered if we were told that the latter are just as good as the former, for we believe them, grade for grade and branch for branch, to be more efficient and to give a more solid secular education. A good many thousands of non-Catholics must think as we do, otherwise they would not send their children to Catholic schools. We do not fear competition; what we do fear, however, is the invasion of the parent's right to educate his children in a parochial school or denominational college, if he prefers the one or the other to state schools. The Socialist party wishes to deprive him of this right. Appeal to Reason, December 26, 1903, says that public (state) schools are the only ones that should be permitted even now.

"Under Socialism every individual will be allowed to have as his own property that amount of wealth that his labor creates. With that he may do absolutely as he likes. He may buy books, papers, music, or he may found schools and pay ministers or priests. So the Catholic need not fear. He may conduct his school just as now."

Are we to believe you rather than the official pronouncements of your party? The Socialist party has put itself on record as unwilling to permit the founding and

conducting of any school other than by the state. When we quote a prominent individual Socialist his authority is rejected and we are told to judge the party by its platforms; but the most obscure individual will ask us to accept his view even when it runs counter to official pronouncements.

"You fight Socialism because it will bring universal light, knowledge, education to all the people. You believe this would destroy your religion."

This is the conclusion my questioner arrives at, because I protested against the proposal of the Socialist party to give to all children, the children of Catholics, Protestants and Jews included, not merely a compulsory secular, but a compulsory and positively anti-religious education. The Catholic Church does not fear the light; but fears only the knownothing. We invite the study of our faith and are glad to enlighten any and every inquirer. We love knowledge, in proof of which I present the fact that the Catholic Church in the United States is educating upward of a million and a quarter pupils in her seven universities, 869 colleges and 4,364 parochial schools and 255 orphanages (1906).

"Is it true, as stated by some, that Socialists would take the children away from their parents to have them reared and educated by the state?"

Lawrence Gronlund, who assures us that no one has given more thought to the future of Socialism than himself, tells us in "Our Destiny" that all children, from tender to adult age, will be placed in the charge and under the eye of educators, who will see to it that they are properly fed, clothed and lodged; for it will then be acknowledged that the education of children will be of far

more concern and importance to society than to parents (pp. 140 and 144). Robert Owen is quoted in Thomas Dixon's "The One Woman" (p. 36) as saying: "In the new Moral World the irrational names of husband, wife, parent and child will be heard no more. Children will undoubtedly be the property of the whole community."

The Gotha platform demands "universal and equal education of the people of the state." Bebel has a paragraph in "Die Frau," pp. 322 ff., which reads like a commentary on the above: "Every child that comes into the world is a welcome addition to society; for society beholds in every child the continuation of itself and its own further development; it, therefore, perceives from the very outset the duty, according to its power, to provide for the new-born child. When the child waxes stronger his equals await him for common amusement, under public direction. Here again all things are supplied, which tend toward the development of soul and body. Then comes the kindergarten with its playrooms; and, at a later period, the child is playfully introduced into the elements of knowledge and human activity. * * * The introduction to the various kinds of useful labor follows in due succession. But the intellectual development, in the meantime, on the various fields of science, is not to be neglected. Corresponding to the high grade of social culture shall be the outfit of the lecture halls, the educational appliances, and the means of instruction. All means of education and instruction, clothing and food, supplied by the community, will be such as to give no pupil an advantage over another. * * * This system of education, strictly organized, under efficient control, continued to that stage of life when society shall declare its youth to be of age, will eminently qualify both sexes

(which are to be brought up together) for all rights and duties which society grants or imposes on its fullgrown members."

H. G. Wells, writing in *The Independent*, November 1, 1906, says: "Socialism intervenes between the children and the parents, claiming to support them, protect them and educate them for its own ampler purposes. Socialism, in fact, is the state family. The old family of the private individual must vanish before it, just as the old water works of private enterprise, or the old gas company." Commenting on the article of Mr. Wells, the editor of *The Independent* says in the same issue: "His frankness and honesty in bringing that question into the open is in commendable contrast with the tendency of most advocates of Socialism to conceal or minimize the fact that any such profound rearrangement of economic relations as is involved in Socialism must inevitably affect the family."

In the article quoted above Mr. Wells makes the astounding declaration: "It is one of our most transparent sentimental pretenses that there is any natural subordination of son to father, of daughter to mother." For proof he cites the unwillingness of children to be guided or restrained by their parents. "Into these conflicts and disorders," he says, "comes Socialism, and Socialism alone, to explain, to justify, to propose new conventions and new interpretations of relationship, to champion the reasonable claims of the young, to mitigate the thwarted ownership of the old."

The American Socialist party platform of 1901 asks for "The education of all children up to the age of 18 years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food." In many cities the Socialists are even now trying

to make that plank of their platform operative. They have begun by demanding free books and writing materials for the children of the public schools, and in some instances, have even asked that free meals be furnished.

"Under the present system Catholic tax payers have to contribute to the support of the public schools, whereas under Socialism Catholics would congregate together and have only to support their own parochial schools."

There will be no room for parochial schools or private colleges in the Socialistic scheme, according to the official programs of the various national parties, as has already been shown. Someone asked the editor of Appeal to Reason if parochial schools would be abolished under Socialism. This was his answer (April 28, 1903):

"Under Socialism, the majority will decide, the same as it does today. If the majority decide that parochial schools shall be abolished, that will settle it. So much is certain that every child will have to attend the public school, before it attends any other school. At the same time, since religion is regarded as a private matter by Socialists, parochial schools would not necessarily disappear under Socialism. The people who believe in them would be free to support them, if they wanted them. And the children, after their regular school hours, could attend the parochial schools. But, of course, it is impossible to say today what the majority will do, when we shall have established Socialism."

On December 26, 1903, the same paper, as noticed before, declared that none but state schools should be permitted even now.

"You said that Socialism has no chance of winning; then why does the Catholic Church not quit fighting it

and devote her energies to freeing the little white slaves of the southern cotton mills and of the mines and factories of the north?"

We oppose Socialism to keep the people, especially our own Catholics, from being misled by its deceptive promises and indoctrinated with its false principles. I can see no particular reason for the Catholic Church to inaugurate a campaign against child labor; to try to put a stop to this infamy is everybody's duty, irrespective of creed.

"How can you prevent child labor?"

By law, as all progressive states have already done. North Carolina, Maryland, Rhode Island and South Carolina prohibit the employment of children under 12 years of age; Pennsylvania under 13; New Jersey boys under 12, girls under 14; Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri and some other states under 14. Conditions in respect to child labor had been very bad in some of the southern states, notably in North Carolina and Alabama. The American Federation of Labor sent a woman agent upon a tour of investigation and thru the publicity occasioned by her reports the offending states have bestirred themselves to the enactment of proper laws.

Socialists also propose to remedy this evil, but it is not necessary to upset our present order, to make each and every one of us parts of a huge machine, to condemn all to a workhouse system of industry, for the sake of eliminating child labor. The Socialist remedy would be a good deal worse than the disease.

THE NEW STATE

"Do you approve of the recall and of the initiative and referendum?"

I think the recall a good thing since it forces a representative to bow to the will of his constituents. The initiative and referendum ought to work well when made applicable to the more important matters of legislation. If franchises, f. i., were made ineffective until approved by a referendum vote, much temptation would be removed from our public servants.

"Should not the people own the public utilities, mines, telegraphs, etc.?"

Yes, if state ownership gave us as good service at cheaper cost or better service at the same cost. The public welfare should enlist our first thought. Compensation to the present holders would, of course, be imperative in case the Government were to use its rights of eminent domain.

It is not to be taken for granted that a thing will be done better or more cheaply because the Government does it directly. The Government printing establishment at Washington may serve as an example. The editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, September 7, 1905, said in relation to public printing: "The cost of the Government printing office is from one and a half to ten times the prices charged by commercial houses, while the Government does not have to consider such trifles as profit, interest, rent and depreciation of plant. Moreover, the commercial houses pay practically the same wages as the Government."

“Why are the clergy so opposed to Socialism? As they know that the capitalistic system is not right why do they not denounce it, so that the country may not be brought into the throes of revolution, as is the case in Russia today?”

The clergy do not hold the capitalistic system as such responsible for the ills of society. We denounce the wrongs that are committed under its cloak. As denunciations alone are not likely to influence brutal employers, or restrain dishonest speculators, we advise the enactment and strict enforcement of far-reaching laws. Just in proportion as capitalists abuse the power their growing wealth gives them will we have to clothe the Government with increasing authority. We oppose the remedy of the Socialists because we have some respect for the Ten Commandments.

To judge from the tone of their speeches and writings our American Socialists seem to be in sympathy with the cowardly assassinations of Russian officers, planned and carried out by a section of their European comrades.

Giant combinations, it is true, have revolutionized trade in our own country, swallowing up many a small manufacturer and many a small shop-keeper, and materially changing the attitude of the employer toward the employed. The control of the chief industries is centered in a few individuals, who keep adding enormous wealth to fortunes already staggeringly colossal. Their power has become so great that they could bring ruin upon the nation, if they felt so inclined. On the other hand we are frequently treated to the spectacle of huge trusts of workingmen, combining to wring concessions from their millionaire employers; or joining with them

to extort higher prices from a helpless and hitherto all too complacent public. When the community becomes aroused, as it did during the strike of the Anthracite miners, and turns to the Government for protection, it may find to its dismay that the laws are inadequate to correct the unforeseen aggression. Yet one need not despair of our form of Government; we ourselves are the law-makers and duty and self-interest point the way to the enactment of proper legislation. We should recognize that one of the chief duties of government is to protect the weak against the strong.

"Co-operation follows competition; because the latter, if carried on indefinitely, must result in total annihilation. Competition creates wealth, but wealth, in its turn, arrests competition. Who of us can compete with the trust? Here competition ceases and wealth only remains to become common property. Socialists are not the makers of the Co-operative Commonwealth; they only point out the historic development of society."

If competition continued unrestrained the result without any doubt, would be harmful to society. Since, however, society is composed of intelligent and free agents, it is absurd to suppose that they will not exert themselves to correct the evil in competition, while at the same time preserving all that is good in it. Given fair play to all, competition is more helpful to society at large than its universal elimination could possibly be.

"You say you are in accord with the higher authorities of the Catholic Church when you uphold the competitive system. How can you say so when Bishop Spalding says: 'If something is not done to remedy the frightful wastes of the competitive system, Socialism will find

its opportunity.' Is not Bishop Spalding a recognized authority on economics in the Catholic Church of America?"

The Catholic Church does not approve or disapprove of any theory of economics as such; consequently does not set up any writer as an "authority." Only when an economic theory violates justice or morality does the Church intervene to caution her members against the commission of a wrong. We hold Bishop Spalding in the highest esteem for his scholarly attainments and personal worth and we recommend to our thoughtful readers his work, "Socialism and Labor."

The quotation given above does not prove anything more than that the bishop does not believe in the more wasteful methods of competition. He is far from being a Socialist, telling us in that book: "Socialism, if practicable at all, can succeed only by controlling and regulating all the affairs of life, by turning the whole nation into an industrial army, where each one is under orders to keep the place and do the duties assigned him. There is nothing we so much dislike as interference. * * *

The diatribes of the Socialists against wealthy men oftener spring from unworthy passions than from any sense of wrong inflicted by them. What is said of the poverty and misery of laborers is applicable chiefly to the crowd of loafers and criminals. Let us have no class-hatred, but a universal good will. I am convinced that the great aim should be, not to provide for all men, but to train and educate all men to take care of themselves."

"In 1900 only one-sixth of the families of Milwaukee owned the houses they lived in; five-sixths living in houses owned by others. Does not this show that the

Social Democrats are right in saying that under the capitalist system the people that do the work remain poor, while the capitalists, who do not work, get the wealth that is created?"

Are you telling the truth about Milwaukee? Your city is known as a city of homes. You must have more owners of homes proportionately than has Chicago. Yet the latter city had nearly 82,000 homes owned by their occupants, according to the February, 1904, report of City Statistician Grosser. Of these German-Americans owned 14,600; Americans, 9,000; Irish, 7,400, etc. There were altogether 367,500 homes; a little less than one-fourth owned by their occupants. The fact that one lives in rent or that his property is encumbered is not necessarily a mark of poverty. Undoubtedly the native Americans are the best to do of Chicago's population; yet they rented more homes in proportion to their number than any other nationality. The last census gives the number of homes in the United States as 16,006,437; of these 8,246,747 were rented. Wisconsin had 420,327 homes, of which 137,009 were rented.

"Do you know that competition means enormous waste, f. i., parallel railroads, useless clerks and drummers, wasteful advertising, innumerable small and useless plants, etc? If you are a friend of labor why put it to all this useless work? If you simply want to give employment, regardless of its usefulness, why not hire men to dig holes, and fill them up again?"

That there is a great deal of wasteful competition no one can doubt. Business men realize this and are seeking to eliminate at least a certain portion of it thru the formation of combines and big corporations. Where the margin of profit is small, some such arrangement be-

comes necessary to avoid bankruptcy. Competition is not thereby wholly removed, and that is a fortunate thing for us; for parallel railroads give us better service and cheaper rates, drummers for rival houses are sure to offer the lowest possible prices to shop-keepers, extensive advertising provides the penny newspaper for the reading public, etc. Complaint is sometimes made that manufacturers and other capitalists are deriving too much profit from their investments; if the complaint is founded on fact, we should not be put out if some of the earnings are spent wastefully. No injustice is done to labor; for labor finds additional employment and competition itself keeps the prices of commodities from soaring upward. "It is not a question of prosperity," says F. O. Willey in "The Laborer and the Capitalist," "but of the distribution of prosperity" (p. 24). Competition adds zest to living, stimulates inventiveness and causes men to put forth their best endeavors. Says Willey (Ib. 195): "Level mountains; soften climates; place an abundance where all can have it by the mere taking; remove all anxiety concerning the necessities of old age; in short, banish competition and so change conditions that the now thrifty, energetic, aspiring, knowledge-loving American will have no more occasion to plan and hoard for the future than does the South Sea Islander, and he will very soon begin a backward and downward march to his ignorant and slothful level. * * * The two great forces which unite to make us progressive beings are desire and necessity; one beckoning, the other forcing, us along the pathway of improvement and up the hill of knowledge to loftier and broader views of life and creative energy."

"What will be the economic condition of the middle class and the poor when the trusts are fully developed?"

It is not certain that the huge, over-capitalized corporations that have sprung into existence within the last few years will be able to maintain themselves. If their securities cannot be digested we need not fear other or greater combinations. As matters stand at present, laborers prefer the employ of large corporations to smaller concerns, finding the conditions better, the pay more certain and the work more continuous. The large corporations are paying the best wages and the highest salaries today. To give an example, "The Fair," a Chicago department store, pays its manager \$50,000 per year.

"Do 'trusts' eliminate competition?"

When two or more business concerns are put by their directors into the hands of a joint committee of trustees for non-competitive management we have a trust. There are few such trusts at present; we have instead actual consolidations, the individual companies having been merged into the new one. The enlarged corporations escape a certain amount of competition, thanks to a more economic production and distribution. but there remains at all times a potential competition. Capital keeps guard over capital. Should the earnings of any corporation become excessive, others will be sure to enter its chosen field and force a reduction of prices. Publicity is recommended as a natural corrective for this and other evils.

Socialists love to quote Richard T. Ely. The late professor tells us in "The Labor Movement in America," p. 288: "If it could be shown that it [the Socialist

scheme looked at simply as a theory of industrial society] is a better form of economic life than our present imperfect system, it ought to be welcomed most heartily. I, for my part, do not believe that this is true." In the introduction to that work (p. xi.) he gives this advice: "Nothing more disastrous to you [workingmen] could happen than to live in a society in which all should be equals. It is a grand thing for us that there are men with higher natures than ours and with every advantage for the development of their faculties, that they may lead in the world's progress and serve as examples of what we should strive to become."

"The state has the right to make any law it pleases, for the state under Socialism will represent the will of the majority."

Socialists, following their leader, Marx, have made Hegel's notion of the omnipotence of the state their own. According to the German philosopher the state is Acting God, the world-soul evolved into consciousness; the state is all, the individual nothing. Our conception of the state, of its functions and the extent of its jurisdiction, differs very materially from Hegel's or that of the Socialists.

"You said Marx got his idea of the omnipotence of the state from Hegel: do you intend to convey the idea that Socialists believe the state should be omnipotent?"

They give us that impression. The Socialistic state will assume an absolute monopoly of all business; will permit no one to own so much as a foot of land; will make every man and woman work at the occupation, in the locality and at the time that it shall appoint under penalty of starvation; will deny to parents the right to

educate their children at parochial schools or private colleges, compelling all to obtain a purely secular education in anti-religious state-schools; will make religious establishments dependent upon the good will of a majority; will determine the morality of actions by majority vote; will absorb the rights, natural and divine, that existed prior to the formation of states and other similar usurpations.

Most of us are likely to agree with Emile de Laveleye, when he says in "Socialism of Today," p. 269, the state "can be the most powerful agent of civilization and progress. It is its duty to interfere whenever the manifestations of individual interest come into conflict with the humane and civilizing mission of political economy, so as to bring about the oppression and degradation of the humbler classes of society. * * * In the struggle for existence and in the conflict of selfish interests the strongest will crush or exploit the weakest, unless the state, as the organ of justice, intervene to secure to each what is his due."

We can admit as much as this without conceding the right of the state to make all active capital public property and prevent the more skilful and industrious from scoring over the indolent and unskilful.

"You say all men are equal before the law, and yet we read of men being sent to the penitentiary for five or six years for embezzling a few hundred dollars, while boodlers, grafters, bank wreckers, who steal thousands, get one or two years of imprisonment."

The fault lies with the law-making body, not with the judges. The latter are obliged to adjudicate according to the laws set before them. We should hesitate to attack the judiciary.

"If all the means of production and distribution were owned by and used in the interest of all the people, would we continue to have the millionaire and his concomitant, the tramp? If so, why do our millionaires oppose it? If not, why do you oppose it? Would our conditions under such a system be worse than they are now? If so, what is there to prevent the people from returning to capitalism?"

If all the means of production and distribution were owned by the state there would be an end to millionaires, that is certain. But how would you eliminate the tramp, whom you wrongly call the millionaire's concomitant? Tramps are tramps, not because they cannot find work, but because they do not wish to work. So long as they can beg or steal a living, we shall have the tramp with us. If the Socialistic state is to have no police officers—as some of its votaries maintain—nor "labor-drivers," I should say it will become a veritable tramps' paradise.

We are not opposed to the industrial system that will enable the thrifty and energetic to forge ahead. Nearly all of our well-to-do people have risen from the ranks. An incentive is needed to make men put forth their best efforts. We want not stagnation, but a progressive society.

Would conditions under Socialism be worse than now? I think infinitely worse. Would it not then be easy to return to the present forms? No; after looting and wasting the possessions of others, how will you find it possible to make restitution and restore present conditions? When you have raised up a generation of atheists, how are you going to re-make them Christians—by decree of congress?

"What is the cause of our periodical crises?"

The causes vary. Sometimes it is overproduction, more often extended credits. C. D. Wright says: "Inflated commercial credits will always bring disaster."

"Could there be a panic if the crops were good and the Government owned the banks?"

I think so. It would not be necessary for the Government to own the banks to prevent panics. If business be conducted legitimately and conservatively there ought to be no reason for a scare.

"What do you think of the men who burned their cotton to get a higher price?"

If that was actually done it was an act of folly; for it was destruction of wealth. High prices do not spell prosperity.

"You say the workers would have to hold the positions given them in the Socialistic state, do they not have to work now when and where they can?"

There is a moral compulsion to work, but ordinarily we can choose our own occupation and live in the town of our own selection. In Socialism both would depend upon the will of another.

"Would an income tax benefit the wage-earner?"

Undoubtedly, as only incomes, larger than his own, would be listed for taxation. It would be a just tax, too.

"Would you interpret the present competitive system to be God's conception of the best?"

He has not taken me into His counsel and so I do not know what God's conception of the best economic system is. It would not be hard for us to conceive a bet-

ter system than our own if we had only perfect beings to consider; but we have to deal with men as they are, not as they might or ought to be, and this complicates the matter considerably.

"Has not the child of the poor man, born into a world which is filled with plenty, a moral right to all he needs for his comfort and well-being? If not, how do you explain God's handling of the animal kingdom, which are provided with plenty, with the one requirement that they shall do the work necessary to get it?"

What work do the animals do, outside of bees, ants and a few others? You cannot liken the voluntary, intelligent labor of a human being to the instinctive, unfree actions of brute animals. As a matter of fact, myriads of animals die every year from want of heat and nourishment, after they themselves had devoured myriads of other animals. The child of the poor has undoubtedly a moral right to all he needs for his ordinary comfort and well-being.

"Are God's world laws competitive or co-operative? Then why should man's competitive system of production and distribution, allowed because we are free agents under Him, be considered superior?"

God's world laws, or the natural laws, employ competitive as well as co-operative forces, repulsion as well as attraction, expulsion as well as assimilation. There are positive and negative currents in electricity; the sun attractis its planets and yet keeps them at a distance; some chemicals combine while others react; heat and cold are competitive; winds may be favorable or contrary; some streams are gentle, others raging torrents,

etc. In like manner production will show best results thru competition within a world-wide co-operation.

Says Henry Wood, in "The Political Economy of Natural Law," p. 36: "Competition is not the antithesis of co-operation. They are the two hemispheres of one globe. They each have a necessary function in the unitary system of the whole."

"Who profits most by industrial improvements?"

The consumer.

"Do what you will, say all you can, Socialism is bound to come because it is in accord with nature."

One who has given the matter considerable thought, Rev. Victor Cathrein, author of a valuable book on Socialism, says: "A permanent Socialistic order is impracticable because in direct contradiction with the unchangeable inclinations and instincts of human nature." Wherever tried Socialistic communities have ended in failure.

A good way of testing the theory of Socialism is by constructing an imaginary commonwealth, applying the recognized and universally admitted principles of International Socialism in its construction. All Socialists are agreed that the means of production and distribution must be turned over to society to be administered for the benefit of all. By preventing private enterprises from entering the field of production, as well as of distribution, that competition, which is lowering men's wages, will be done away with. The laborer will be allowed to purchase whatever he pleases with his labor-checks. He may purchase as much or as little as he has a mind to; but he can buy only from the state. Picture to yourself all the stores, shops, factories, farms, railroads, steam-

ships, trolley lines, construction work, newspaper establishments, professions, etc., owned and administered by the general or local government! Our cities cannot give us today two things so simple as pure water and clean streets; by what magic will they be made capable of doing the thousands of things implied in production and distribution?

The collectivist system would require a tremendous expansion of government machinery. Everything would need to be regulated by boards and committees. How many committees would be required for the satisfactory management of the distributory stores of any large city? There would be no reason why clerks should put themselves about to please their customers, for it would be of no benefit to them whether they buy or not. Overseers would be needed to force clerks to do their duty. Committees would be needed to watch the overseers, and so on indefinitely. What is everybody's business is nobody's business. Should you ask for what is not kept in stock the clerk might promise to get it for you, provided the manufacturers' committee can be convinced that you ought to have it. Remember there will be no competition to make producers anxious to please. An author may desire a book published; the state decides whether his ideas shall be given to the public or not. Newspapers would be published solely in the interest of the Socialist state. Freedom of the press would, of course, disappear. When you wish a house built at present, or an improvement added, you can have it done, no matter how much the builder may disapprove of your ideas. It will not be so simple a matter to convince a committee that your notions ought to be carried out. The unraveling of red tape would become a general in-

dustry. The Socialist may tell you that the committee's judgment is likely to be better than yours. Granted; but it is to be your home, and not theirs. If you wish to build a church or publish a catechism or engage a priest, you will need the consent of a majority vote. Socialists tell us that their army of officers will be filled with the love of their fellows; that courtesy, kindness and unselfishness will mark all their dealings and smooth over the little differences that may arise. They will pardon us for holding a different opinion. Foremen and superintendents and political officials are often surly, unreasonable and discourteous now, when it is clearly to their interest to please; what wonder-working charm is going to transform them into terrestrial angels, when no personal sinecure is at stake? How are these multitudinous offices to be filled? If they apply civil service rules and give them a lifetime tenure their servants will become their masters, and one of the favorite sentiments of Socialists will be violated, namely, equality. If the ballot is to fill the offices, you may need as many election days as work days, and the tribe of hungry politicians, looking for the easier or more desirable jobs, will increase like bacteria. We are not so fond of the average politician, nor so deeply impressed with his moral character that we should elect to make him our ever-present guardian. In any event, would it not rob a man of the last vestige of independence to be placed at the mercy of committeemen at every turn—of committeemen whose chief concern, if they concerned themselves at all, would be to benefit the state or community rather than the individual? We are free in our purchases now; buying what we wish, not what others think we ought to wish. We would hardly care to exchange this freedom for gall-

ing servitude under a despotic bureaucracy. For my part, I would rather be poor and free than the best-fed slave.

"But," the Socialist objects, "you cannot buy what you wish now, tho a thousand persons be willing to serve you; because you have not the means to do so." This brings us to the consideration of another question—the compensation which the collectivist state will make for labor performed. There is to be no real money, no gold or silver, in the Co-operative Commonwealth; the only measure of value will be the labor contributed toward the general store or service. Certificates will be issued to enable the recipients to purchase goods at the distributing stores. One of the greatest of Socialists' difficulties, however, will be to determine the value of labor and how to measure it for exchange. They speak of the labor hour as the unit of value, but differ in explaining the meaning of that term. It will have to be counted in one of two ways—either by the time employed or, by the value of the goods produced. Either explanation is fraught with insurmountable difficulties.

If the labor hour is to be compensated according to what is produced, an estimate of value will have to be put upon all work done and a ratio fixt between this and everything that may be demanded in exchange. This will not be an easy matter. The best minds in the world have been trying to fix a stable ratio between two simple metals, gold and silver, and have not met with success. Values fluctuate daily. If the necessary ratios could be established at all, it would be at the expense of an enormous force of office clerks. Unproductive work could not be measured according to this method at all.

If a drouth or flood or other unforeseen agency made certain labors unproductive it would not do to let these laborers starve. Socialists are fond of saying that they will give the toiler the full product of his labor; that will not be sufficient in some cases; in others the product would be very hard to determine. Will they give the teacher, for instance, the full product of her toil? What does it consist in, and how are they going to measure it in exchange for, say, a bunch of onions? I asked the Socialists of Brockton how they would determine the bookkeeper's full product, but could get no answer to my query. It will not do to fix ratios at haphazard; for competition, which now regulates all such matters, one might say automatically, will be eliminated altogether from the Socialist program. It was the thought of the many impossible things that Socialists undertake to do that suggested the idea to Henry George that they were like men who try to rule the wonderfully complex and delicate internal relations of their bodies by conscious will. If we drew no breath except in compliance with an act of the will, or if the blood circulated only when commanded to do so, we should not exist many minutes. The Anarchists, on the other hand, seemed to Henry George like men trying to get along without heads.

If the labor hour is to be measured by the value of the articles produced, some kinds of labor will be more remunerative than others. Who is to get the better positions, the better farms, the cleaner work? Who is going to do the dirty work, the dangerous work, under Socialism? Will the committees be authorized to give them to their favorites? In whatever way it be done, it is sure to create dissatisfaction, and again the funda-

mental idea of Socialism will be violated—equality of opportunity and equal division of unequal earnings.

To escape these many difficulties, Socialists tell us of the other method, which is simplicity itself: they will measure the labor hour by the time employed. They will not compute it by the time employed by this or that given person, who might be very lazy or very skilful, but by the time employed by the average person. A new difficulty, however, confronts them. This average production will constantly grow smaller. You have watched men on the street, who were working by the hour; how often they found it necessary to pause and lubricate their hands and to pause again to note the progress of the sun. Their foreman is not particularly concerned, for they are all milking the same municipal cow. There is not so much loafing in factories and mills, for the reason that the management is not paying for time so much as for work. Now, if all go to work for the Government and get the same pay, each will try to do as little as his laziest neighbor, and do it as wastefully; the inevitable result must be a minimum production. Lyman Abbott's remark that our present problem is not how to get, but how to distribute wealth, will not apply to the Co-operative Commonwealth. The change to Socialism will not eradicate man's natural dislike to enforced labor. Individual interest is, after all, the indispensable incentive to labor and economy; that will be wanting in the Socialistic state. The result must be bankruptcy. But no; the state can always wriggle out of this difficulty. It determines the exchange value of labor and to escape bankruptcy it needs but to lower this value, which would be equivalent to a cutting of wages in the present order of things. Socialists assure us that the community or

state will guarantee constant work to all who apply. There are people out of work in every city, even in the best of times. Then there are the sick, the insane, the crippled, the orphaned, the aged; provision must be made for all these in the Socialist state. That will reduce still further the laborer's daily allowance.

It will also be within the state's province to supply amusement, which shall be done with liberal hand; there will be free excursions, we are told, free street cars, free medical service, etc. Children will go to school until their nineteenth year; parents need not worry about the cost; for the state will furnish not only free tuition, but free books, free clothes and free meals. And so they continue to paint an attractive picture, heaping on color very generously. Never trust the man who promises over-much.

The thoughtful man is sure to ask himself: "Will the state be able to carry out this program? It cannot give more than it gets; will it be rich enough to pay the extravagant bills of Socialism?" The latter question was made the title of a thoughtful article by Edwin Lawrence Godkin, that appeared in the June number of *The Forum*, 1894. It is assumed by Socialists that the wealth of the state will be unlimited; but on what foundation is the assumption based? Production will certainly diminish in the Socialist state, when the chief incentive to work is taken away. The enormous earnings of the capitalist class, they tell us, will be diverted to the state or community treasury. Without inquiring seriously how great these earnings really are, it is taken for granted that they are sufficient to give everybody a comfortable income. We have no means of computing the incomes of our rich men in America; but in England

there are available statistics. Godkin tells us that if all the known incomes in England exceeding \$1,500 per annum were confiscated and distributed to the entire population, it would mean an annual additon of only \$15.

That would be a neat Christmas gift, hardly more. The addition of 30 cents a week would not produce a very great change in the Englishman's living. Says Godkin: "The state has no money to give every citizen a comfortable living. What the rich spend upon themselves would be only a drop in the bucket, and they can secure none of their luxuries without sharing with the laborer, thru investment. The notion that there is a reservoir of wealth somewhere, either in the possession of the Government or the rich, which might be made to diffuse plenty thru a smiling land, is a delusion, which nearly all the writings of the ethical economists tend to spread, and it is probably the most mischievous delusion which has ever taken hold on the public mind." He thinks this notion is making states extravagant and promises to lead Italy and France into bankruptcy; and "it is diffusing thru the working class of all countries, more and more every day, not only envy and hatred of the rich, but an increasing disinclination to steady industry and an increasing dispositon to rely on politics for the betterment of their condition." The wealth of the United States in 1900 was estimated at \$94,000,000,000 by C. D. Wright. This includes the total existing produce of land, labor and saving. If this were distributed among the entire population each family of five would get \$6,250. Not a very great fortune.

Whatever his income, under Socialism, the laborer will be obliged to consume it or give it away, as it cannot be invested or made productive. If the incomes were

large most of the state's wealth would be dissipated. Under the present arrangement the greater portion of the incomes of the very wealthy is re-invested. While the laborer may not be getting his just share of the proceeds in every industry, each additional investment increases wages none the less and adds to the general prosperity.

"You have constructed a visionary state; no man can tell what the future society will be like."

How do you expect to educate anybody for a change when you yourself do not know what you wish to change into? Does not your admission prove that Socialism is merely a destructive and not a constructive force? Would not a man be foolish to tear down his house just for the sake of change and then trust to luck and the good-will of his fellows for the construction of a better one? The truth of the matter is, Socialists are ashamed of their ideas when they see them worked out into concrete, tangible form. My "visionary state" is society, molded into such form as it must necessarily take when the principles of the Socialist party platform are adopted. Even the painstaking efforts of their own brethren in building up an acceptable future state are rejected by them as unnatural or utopian.

"When the combined efforts of the Church and the autocratic Prince Bismarck failed to stop the Socialist movement in Germany, which now has over three million supporters; what hope then has the Church of stopping, or retarding the Socialist movement in this country?"

The Catholic Church in Germany has succeeded admirably in keeping its children out of the pernicious movement, known as Social Democracy. Where the population is mainly Catholic the Socialist party is weak.

It is our aim in this country to acquaint our people with the real character of Socialism, so that they may not be misled by the counterfeit presentment offered by some of its advocates. We are hopeful that we may influence others besides Catholics; whether we do or not, we have no fear that Socialism will ever become dominant in this country. The American people have too much good sense for that.

"Being positive that the Socialist movement is impracticable, why then all this opposition in the shape of argument and ridicule?"

For two reasons: To keep people from being infected with the atheistic and immoral teachings of Socialistic leaders and publications and to turn their energies from a merely visionary scheme into a more effective reform movement.

"Are not the Socialists making great gains in every part of the world?"

They are making gains in many parts, above all in Europe, excepting Spain. In portions of America like Massachusetts, they have gone back. It is estimated that the Socialist strength in all countries is close to eight millions at the present time (1908).

The International Socialist bureau reports the following number of Socialist representatives in the national parliaments of the several countries mentioned (September, 1907):

Germany, reichstag	43
Argentina, congress	1
British Columbia, deputies.....	3
Finnland, chamber	80
France, deputies	80

Holland, second chamber	6
Luxemburg, chamber	7
Servia, chamber	1
Switzerland, national council.....	2
Austria, reichsrath	87
Belgium, house	30
Denmark, folkething	24
Denmark, lanstthing	4
England, commons	31
Italy, chamber	25
Sweden, second chamber	15
Norway, storthing	10

"Did the Socialists ever possess complete power in any community? If so, how did their system work out?"

They possess complete power in Paris after the Proletarian Revolt in 1871; also in Cartagena and Seville in 1873. E. de Laveleye in "Socialism of Today," p. 43, says they were "absolutely sterile in economic reforms, after their successful Socialistic revolutions." Laveleye, himself a Socialist tho not of the International school, remarks: "The most disastrous error of the Socialist is the belief that a successful insurrection would lead to a new social organization being established by law. It is easy to confiscate property; but to carry on industry on a gigantic scale requires more competent men than laborers can supply. * * * Greater equality must eventually be established among men; but social transformations are not to be accomplished by violence. The enduring triumph of a violent Socialist revolution is impossible."

Commenting on the outcome of a strike on the state-owned transportation lines of Holland, the editor of The

Independent, April 16, 1903, had this to say: "Our industrial system, the Socialist says, forgets that a horse must be fed before he can be made to work. He forgets that a horse cannot be made to work until he is broken to harness and that he cannot be broken to harness by merely feeding him. The Socialist would have to learn to harness himself and that might not be easy."

The taking of the Paris Commune is celebrated each year by American Socialists. What can they find to praise in that orgy of lawlessness and destruction? One of their number, G. B. Benham, tells its history in *The Proletarian Revolt*. Forty thousand Parisians were killed in battle (p. 211); public buildings and priceless works of art were burned or destroyed; Napoleon's column was torn down; the movable property of people who had fled the city was confiscated (p. 101); churches were pillaged (p. 57); Jesuits were robbed of 400,000 francs (p. 43); 12 unfriendly journals were suppressed (p. 75); 300 of the clergy were imprisoned (p. 59); 200 priests were held as hostages (p. 118); priests were murdered (pp. 169, 171, 172, 181). \ Archbishop Darboy and other high Church dignitaries were made hostages, tho non-combatants like all the other priests (p. 51). Deguery, pastor of the Madeleine, when catechized by Rigault, judge of the Council of Discipline, said: "We teach the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ." To which Rigault replied: "There are no Lords. We do not know any Lords." When Darboy was questioned he answered: "I am a servant of God." Rigault asked: "Where does He live?" To which the Archbishop replied: "Everywhere." Rigault then gave command: "Send this man to the Conciergerie, and issue a warrant for the arrest of his Master, one called God, who has no permanent resi-

dence, and is, consequently contrary to law, living in a perpetual state of vagabondage" (p. 57). Archbishop Darboy was ordered shot. When the order was given to fire he blest the soldiers. "That's your benediction, is it? Now take mine," said Lolive, one of the soldiers, as he fired a pistol bullet into the Archbishop's body (p. 158).) Mr. Washburne, our American minister to France, said of Darboy: "He was one of the most charming and agreeable of men and was beloved alike by rich and poor. He had spent his whole life in acts of charity and benevolence (p. 158). Speaking of the deadly hatred on the part of the Communards of all things religious, Benham remarks (p. 59): "The actions of the commune were proof positive that they subscribed to the skeptical tenets which hold priests to be the advocates of human ignorance and a bar to the progress of the race."

Benham conceals the worst part of the shameful story. On the 29th of April, 1871, the Communards took possession of an orphan asylum, drove out the Sisters and kept back in the neighborhood of a hundred young girls. By the time the nuns could again secure possession of their charges five of the girls had been deprived of their eyesight, several were lying at the point of death, 25 were infected with syphilis. For official proofs of these outrages, see Maxime du Camp's "Convulsions of Paris."

The editor of *Appeal to Reason* was asked why American Socialists celebrate the anniversary of the Paris Commune. "Because," was part of his answer, August 29, 1903, "it represented a rise of the working class and serves as a splendid example of what working men can accomplish." *Champion*, a Brockton Socialist paper, in its Thanksgiving issue of 1903, commended the manner in which the proletariat took possession, only de-

ploring their unreadiness to use the victory after they had won it. I have yet to hear or read of any Socialist condemning the outrages perpetrated by the Communards.

SOCIALISTS AND LABOR UNIONS

“Are not the trade unions the best friend of the capitalist class, since they tend to perpetuate the wage and profit system?”

Capitalists, especially the greater ones, do not consider them their best friends; on the contrary, they look upon them with disfavor, thereby attesting the real worth of the trade union to the workingman. The wise toiler does not waste his time in sighing for an ideal state of universal co-operation; he is quite willing to accept a wage, provided it is generous enough, and he is equally willing to have his employer derive a good profit out of his business.

Trade-unions frequently injure themselves thru lack of discipline. J. G. Brooks, in “The Social Unrest,” sums up (p. 356) what he considers the sins and weaknesses of the trade-union:

1. Its attitude toward the non-union man.
2. Its aversion to new inventions.
3. Too willing to check output.
4. Discourages best endeavor among men.
5. The sympathetic strike.
6. Reckless boycotting.

He quotes John Mitchell as saying (in 1902) that he had never known a sympathetic strike to succeed. Nearly one-fourth of all strikes, Brooks tells us (p. 347) in the last twenty-five years were successful, but the sympathetic strike is an almost uninterrupted story of defeat; and justly so.

Prominent labor leaders, he tells us on p. 360, oppose

war upon non-union men, v. g., Sargent, Hanrahan, Gompers, Mitchell, Harry White. He quotes "The Garment Worker" (November 22, 1902), as saying: "Barbarism cannot be overcome by more barbarism. If the benefits of the union cannot be made apparent to the non-member, and if the influence which they can exert collectively is insufficient to induce him to join, then their cause has little strength." "Labor organization," says Brooks, p. 344, "in spite of every unhappy fault that can be laid to its charge, stands for the higher standard of living. To break it means longer hours, lower wages, and a bitterer competition among the workers." Andrew Carnegie, in "Gospel of Wealth," p. 114, adds his testimony: "My experience has been that trade unions, upon the whole, are beneficial both to labor and to capital. They certainly educate the workingmen and give them a truer conception of the relations of capital and labor than they could otherwise form. The ablest and best workmen eventually come to the front in these organizations."

"I look to the trade-unions as the principal means for benefiting the condition of the working classes," is the opinion of Thorold Rogers, Professor of Political Economy at Oxford.

"Do you not think it would be better for the country at large if the labor unions were dissolved?"

By no means; for the good they are doing far outweighs the evil. The evils are accidental and by judicious management can be eliminated. As unions become stronger they grow more conservative. It were better indeed that capitalists and laborers could agree upon an equal division of earnings and upon all other questions arising between them, without recourse to compulsory methods. Such would be the case, if the spirit of Christ

animated rich and poor, employer and employed; but until that ideal state is reached let labor unions battle for the rights of the oppressed, mindful, however, of their duties as well as of their rights.

"What effect has the Socialist propaganda on the trade union movement of this and other countries?"

Socialist journals assert that Socialism and unionism are largely identical in European countries. Such, happily, is not the case here. Repeated attempts were made to commit the great American Federation of Labor, counting a membership of upwards of two millions, to the tenets of Socialism, but without success. The sentiment against Socialism has been growing more pronounced in this, the chief organization of the unionists, from year to year.

Some of the minor organizations, however, have declared for Socialism, like the Western Federation of Miners, and the now defunct American Labor Union; the Independent Workers of the World and the Brewery Workers (affiliated with the A. F. of L.). In many other labor organizations the Socialistic element, thru superior activity, has captured the higher offices by means of which it exerts a baneful influence upon the labor movement. "The trade-unions offer a splendid opportunity for propaganda," writes Daniel Lynch in "Socialism and Trade-Unionism," p. 15. Socialists make no secret of their purpose to use the unions for the furtherance of their political ends. Says Max Hayes, in "Trade Unions and Socialism," p. 23: "The time is rapidly approaching when a plain declaration for Socialism can be made without injuring the unions by frightening the ignorant members, who are nevertheless necessary in carrying on economic struggles."

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, made a notable speech at the Boston convention of the Federation in 1903, when the question of endorsing Socialism was under discussion. He declared that the Socialists within the ranks were the greatest foes of the trade-union movement. "Tho they believe themselves to be trade-unionists," he said, "they are at heart and logically the antagonists of our movement. * * * We recognize the poverty, we know the sweat-shop, we can play on every string of the harp and touch the tenderest chords of sympathy; but while we recognize the evil and would apply the remedy, our Socialist friends would look forward to the promised land and wait for the sweet by-and-by." Turning to the Socialist contingent, he said: "I have studied your philosophy, read your economics, and not the meanest of them, studied your standard works, both in English and German; have not only read but studied them. I have heard your orators and watched the work of your movement the world over. I have kept close watch on your doctrines for thirty years; have been closely associated with many of you and know how you think and what you propose. I know, too, what you have up your sleeve. And I want to say to you that I am entirely at variance with your philosophy. * * * Economically you are unsound, socially you are wrong, industrially you are an impossibility."

The difference between Socialism and Trade-unionism in practical accomplishment was forcibly illustrated in the Appeal to Reason plant in 1903. Some of the workers in that Socialistic shop were getting \$3.00 per week; their appeal to the proprietor and editor for a raise in wages was vain. J. A. Wayland could discourse

pathetically on the hard condition of the Colorado miners, who were getting only \$3.50 per day; but in his role of capitalist he fought a raise from \$3.00 to \$5.00 for six days' work. The employees of the plant organized themselves into a union and in less than a week the demand for an increase was granted and several objectionable features were removed. 1

"Is it not possible that the trade-unions will eventually co-operate with the Socialist party and finally overthrow capitalism completely, helping to inaugurate the Co-operative Commonwealth and thereby eliminating the conflicting interests of capital and labor?"

Such is the Socialist program; but it is altogether unlikely that a majority of our American workmen will ever vote themselves into the bondage of Socialism, unless the Socialistic program be very materially altered.

"Do you think Roosevelt's proposal to make employers liable for accidents to negligent workmen fair to the employers of labor?"

President Roosevelt is reported to have said during the summer of 1907 that "workmen should receive a certain, definite and limited compensation for all accidents in industry, irrespective of negligence." If a laborer is injured thru his own carelessness it does not seem fair to hold the employer pecuniarily liable for the same. The President may have in view the prevention of lawsuits, in which the injured laborer cannot well pit himself against a rich corporation. A greater liability on the part of employers would certainly tend to make them more careful of human life. England has stricter laws on this point than has America, one consequence of which is a much smaller percentage of accidents there

than here. Our railroads, to take but one industry, make an appalling showing: from July 1, 1905, to June 30, 1906, 4,225 passengers and employees were killed and 60,709 maimed; from 1906 to 1907, 5,000 were killed and 76,286 maimed. These figures were given out by the Interstate Commerce Commission. This annual butchery is inexcusable.

"Can the working class secure protection without going into politics?"

The law knows no distinction of rich and poor; its protection can be invoked by the one as well as by the other. Labor unions have gained many notable concessions from employers and have secured a considerable amount of legislation without going directly into politics or, what is the same thing, forming a distinct political party.

"Are not the American labor unions shortsighted in not employing the political as well as industrial strike?"

On this subject Wilshire's, January, 1906, remarks: "The industrial strike, which Gompers and Mitchell place their reliance upon, is to the Russian political strike what the bow and arrow is to the modern rifle. Undoubtedly the next crisis in the United States is going to bring this new and powerful weapon into play, and, armed with it, the working class can demand what they wish and have the power to get it. Such a strike means national starvation, and a nation starving will pay little heed to the form in which it relieves its hunger."

The industrial strike is bad enough, but the general strike for the gaining of some political end is not far from barbarous. It was employed in Belgium in 1893 to secure manhood suffrage and proved successful.

Tried again in 1902, for a one-man-one-vote suffrage, it met with failure. The Swedish and Dutch Socialists tried it in 1903, the Italian Socialists in 1904, the Russian Socialists in 1905, the French Socialists repeatedly. The results have usually been disastrous, especially when the Government was forewarned. By a vote of 288 to 14 the principle of the general political strike was adopted by the German Socialists at Jena in 1905.

"You said laboring men should make a wise use of the ballot... Now if they believe that by voting the Socialist ticket they can better their condition, why do the Catholic clergy threaten them with excommunication?"

No one has been threatening excommunications, so far as I know. Our objections to Socialism have been stated repeatedly and up to now the party has not seen fit to purge itself of the charges made against it. Is it, or is it not, to mention but one thing, a robber party? Does it not mean to despoil the owners of productive capital, to take what they possess without compensation? Would we be true to our calling if we yielded to the cry of a mob demanding that we read the Seventh Commandment "Thou mayest steal?"

"Under Socialism, where the people vote to make their own conditions, would the cotton workers of Fall River vote to cut their wages 10 per cent?"

No; they would probably vote themselves ten dollars a day and call two hours a day's work. Whether they would get it or not, is another question.

"Do you think that you are doing a service to the working class by your presence here?"

I sincerely hope so, or I would not be here.

"How much better off will they be if you save them from the Socialists?"

Men are always better for being Christian in faith and moral in conduct; for clinging to truth and justice.

"What political principles would you advise the working class to adhere to?"

To vote for capable and honest men, whom no amount of money can corrupt.

"According to Wright's figures there is an average of 1,500,000 unemployed, and that problem is becoming more serious. How are you going to solve the unemployed problem by Christianity?"

The Catholic Church has no cut and dried plan for the correction of every economic ill that may arise from time to time. She merely cautions us to violate no principle of right and justice, and then urges us to go ahead and be guided by our common sense and Christian humanity. How many out of the million and a half are tramps or voluntary idlers? I presume a certain number of good men, too, may be found at any given time temporarily out of work. There is no unemployed problem, however, since these are being cared for in one way or another. So long as immigrants come to us at the rate of a million per year there can surely be no talk of lack of employment. If the latter could not be employed they would not be attracted to our shores.

"If there is work for all willing hands, why is it that in case men go on strike, there are always plenty of men ready to take their places?"

The latter may be attracted away from other work by the prospect of better wages, or they may belong to

that undesirable class of toughs known as professional strike-breakers. If at the present time many men are thrown out of work temporarily, can they not blame their fellow-workmen for their plight? The "Independent" of October 1, 1903, says that organized labor in New York city lost during the previous spring and summer thru strikes, \$20,000,000 and tied up \$100,000,000 worth of building projects. Another \$50,000,000 was held back, according to contractors and architects, which was to be invested in buildings. This in New York City alone. Nearly every other city in the country suffered from the same cause and in most cases there was no dispute as to wages. Is it any wonder then that steel mills and other manufacturing concerns are forced to curtail their output or suspend operations? Says "The Independent," which is friendly to labor unions: "Never have workmen in America sought more diligently or with greater lack of common sense to kill the goose that was laying golden eggs for them."

There is a remedy; attend the meetings of your unions and become a conservative force in them; vote against strikes and talk against them; employ the strike only when it becomes an unavoidable necessity.

"You stated that there must be a demand for labor, otherwise immigration would cease. As a matter of fact, the army of the unemployed is growing larger every year. Then the steamship companies employ agents in every part of Europe inducing people to emigrate in order to help their business. During the meat strike, work was given to recent arrivals in preference to Americans."

It needs to be proven that the number of the unemployed is steadily growing. In certain sections of the

country the demand for laborers exceeds the supply. It appears to me that the arguments of the steamship agent would have little weight with European laborers unless supported by the reports of friends in America promising work. If we can trust newspaper accounts the Beef Trust was guilty of doing even worse than that charged in the question: its managers are said to have chosen their unskilled labor habitually from the ranks of the latest arrivals in order to keep wages at the lowest possible point. Theirs, however, is not the usual practise of American employers. The methods of the Beef Trust have met with universal condemnation.

"Kindly explain if, in your opinion, it would be beneficial to the working class of this country if immigration were stopt."

Scarcity of labor usually means higher wages. In certain sections of the country there may be an over-supply of laborers, with consequent diminution of wages. To shut out further immigration from such localities would certainly prove beneficial to the working classes. But in other and more extensive sections men are needed for kinds of work that our native population will not perform. If foreigners were shut out many an industry would be hopelessly crippled and many a railroad must remain unbuilt. So long as we can give them employment immigrants are sure to increase the country's wealth.

"If the interests of capitalists and laborers were identical there would be no cause for labor unions; is that not true?"

It is true that labor unions are based on class antagonism; but this antagonism is not inherent in the re-

lationship existing between employer and employed, on the contrary is entirely foreign to it when conditions are normal. The employer confers a benefit upon his employees by providing work for them; on the other hand they confer a benefit upon him by making his capital productive. They are mutually helpful and should meet each other as mutual benefactors, as friends. This is the normal condition, the condition we refer to when we say the interests of capitalists and laborers are identical. The normal condition may be disturbed; it is only then that class antagonism arises. Our aim should not be to give permanence to this antagonism, but to try to remove it by mutual concessions and a more brotherly love.

"Capitalists," says Henry Wood, in "The Political Economy of Natural Law," p. 159, "and laborers are relatively good or otherwise, but capital and labor are only good. How can two parts of a unit, each utterly incomplete without the other, be naturally antagonistic?"

"Are strikes, taken as a rule, beneficial?"

Of that I think there can be no doubt, tho they often cause a good deal of hardship while in progress. Usually the strikers win some concessions from their employers in consequence of their walkout; but the greatest good is accomplished indirectly. Employers are aware that a prolonged strike will entail heavy losses and give them unenviable notoriety; so they make whatever concessions they can. Strikers are, however, not always in the right. It is Might that succeeds in every case, and Might is not always identical with Right. For myself I believe in compulsory arbitration, in order that both the rights of the public and of the weaker of the contesting parties may be conserved.

E. de Laveleye in "Socialism of Today," p. 30, describes the strike as "a dark and bitter civil war, wherein he wins who can longest hold out without earning anything; a struggle far more cruel and more keen than that decided by bullets from a barricade; one where all the furniture is pawned or sold, where the savings of better times are gradually devoured and where, at last, famine and misery besiege the home, and oblige wife and little ones to cry for mercy." Compulsory arbitration will put an end to such barbarous warfare, to the clumsy, costly, hate-engendering strike.

"Is it not true that arbitration at best is but an armistice, in which the opposing forces of capital and labor confer about the terms upon which labor surrenders to capital?"

It is usually the other way; capital is forced to surrender to labor. Right should always be the victor; never mere Might.

"You express yourself as favorable to compulsory arbitration: do you not know that the state that introduces it will commit economic suicide? Every considerable manufacturing concern will be driven outside its boundaries."

I recognize the difficulty that any state must encounter that undertakes to regulate the greed of the rich. Compulsory arbitration, however, would prove of advantage, it seems to me, to both the employer and his employees, besides safeguarding the rights of the third party—the general public.

"If glass blowing machines are adopted, throwing thousands out of employment, how is society benefited, since the trusts control the prices?"

The prices have come down, as a matter of fact. If they had not, the old method would still be profitable, without a lowering of wages.

"If one mail carrier covers his route twice a day, why does it take twelve or more milk-men to cover the same ground once a day?"

The distribution of milk is more laborious and slower than the distribution of the mails. You cannot shove a quart of milk under the door, nor persuade the average family that two or three calls a week ought to suffice. We all know, of course, that the town could get along with fewer milk men, if the delivery of milk were under one management; but we know, too, that then the service would be less efficient and the cost to the consumer greater. In Chicago the milk carriers are banded together in a union. They decided upon one delivery only per day and carried out their decision, altho the mortality among the children of the poor, who could not keep ice in summer, rose 40 per cent.

"Which do you prefer, the public highway system or the old tollgate system? The one is Socialism, the other capitalism."

I prefer the public highway. If that is Socialism every state in the union must be a Socialist commonwealth.

"Did you ever hear of anyone scabbing a job at the Postoffice department, and why not?"

The Postoffice department is non-union. It is free from strikes. Its employees do not support a corps of Mischief Agents. Employment is thru patronage (a mighty poor system) or thru Civil Service examination (a very good system).

"If a machine is invented that will take the place of ten men, why not work the ten men one hour per day instead of one man ten hours per day?"

Because the inventor and builder of the machine will not donate it to the manufacturer.

"Does population have a tendency to increase faster than subsistence?"

No; because God has given a pair of hands with each single mouth. ✓

"You say that the Co-operative Commonwealth would turn a man into a piece of machinery; is the letter carrier any more of a machine than the man employed in the gas works? You say we would have to read what is given to us; could we not draw upon the libraries then as now? We are not told in the city-owned library what we must read."

Our postal service is conducted not on the Socialistic, but on the capitalistic plan. The letter carrier works for a wage, as does the man employed in the gas works; he has chosen his occupation himself; he can quit it at any time and take up another line of work; he is not told in which house to live, where to buy his groceries, where to have his clothes made, what school to send his children to, whom to apply to for repairs to his house, what doctor to call in in case of sickness, etc.

As to reading matter, I referred to new publications. The state is to be the sole publisher and the sole judge as to what news and books shall be issued. Special preparation will be needed for proficiency in the arts and sciences; will the rank and file vote themselves additional hours of labor in order to enable certain classes to devote themselves to higher studies? The Socialist may

tell us that the workday will be shortened to a couple of hours, giving all that are so inclined, ample time for intellectual pursuits; but the workday would have to be lengthened instead of shortened in the Government shops, if experience counts for anything.

"Would not a change from the capitalist regime to Socialism benefit man?"

It might benefit some materially, but society at large would suffer thru the adoption of universal co-operation, as advocated by Socialists. Progress would be blocked and a widespread degeneracy be sure to ensue. Even the few who might be the gainers thru increased material possessions, would lose infinitely more in other respects, f. i., thru curtailment of liberty, of religious freedom, etc.

"You say Socialism is impossible. Why? We now have Socialism for the few. What the Social Democrats propose to do is to bring about Socialism for everybody. If monopoly is the inevitable outcome of the competitive struggle, then if we are to keep our political freedom, the people in their entirety must become the monopolists, which is Socialism."

The Socialist party proposes to do more than take over the large monopolies. So much would be possible and perhaps even practicable; but the same cannot be said for governmental management of all the means of production and distribution.

"What wages, in your judgment, should the laborer receive?"

Pope Leo in his Encyclical On the Condition of the Working Classes, says: "Let it be taken for granted, that workmen and employer should as a rule, make free agree-

ments, and in particular should agree freely as to the wages; nevertheless there underlies a dictate of nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man, namely, that the remuneration must be sufficient to support the wage-earner in reasonable and frugal comfort." In another place he demands that "the workman's wages be sufficient to enable him to maintain himself, his wife and his children, in reasonable comfort." He does not say what the minimum wage should be, but that is not necessary. He lays down a rule by which men may be guided as to the lowest wage proper to offer the laborer. The laborer should get enough to purchase not merely the necessities of life, but also the ordinary comforts; for the laborer is not a mere beast of burden. Moreover, the wage should be a family-wage, enabling him to enter into and sustain the marriage relation. If he were prevented from doing this, as is the soldier, every town in the country would become as immoral as the average garrison town. Moreover, the wage should be generous enough to enable the laborer to secure his own home. The good of the state requires this. When her citizens have a stake in her soil, they will be her strongest bulwark against insurrections and revolutions. Homes are feeders of patriotism; *pro aris et focis*—for altars and hearths—has always proved an inspiring battle-cry. Homeless men are reckless men. The wage, moreover, should be sufficiently ample to enable the laborer to perform his Christian duties and occasional works of charity; sufficiently ample to provide against seasons of stress, sickness and old age. Men and women are not like horses; we cannot shoot them when they grow old and send their bodies to the rendering establishment. Nor can we drown children, as we do su-

perfluous cats, when their support becomes a heavy burden.

Just what that minimum wage should amount to, measured by dollars and cents, is not so easy to say ; as it must necessarily vary with the price of commodities and with existing customs as to food and clothing. Fifty cents is allowed the Mexican farm hand for a year's supply of clothing and about ten cents, or less, a day to the Mexican servant for his keep ; that, of course, would not constitute "reasonable and frugal comfort" for us. Taking all things into consideration, our manner of living, the present price of clothing, of food-stuffs, of light and fuel, it appears to me, that the wage of the adult laborer should not be under two dollars a day. Better still, if it were twenty-five cents an hour, the minimum union wage.

I know that many men, engaged upon hard work, get less than two dollars per day ; getting as little as fifteen cents an hour upon a nine hour day. This in prosperous times ; in hard times wages are frequently below this. Adult men in North Carolina plug tobacco works got as little as twenty-five cents per day a few years ago ; eight thousand children under fourteen in the same state averaged twenty-nine cents per day. The excuse given by employers for low wages is the necessity of meeting competition. Sometimes competition is, indeed, so sharp that employers with limited capital are forced against their will to reduce the wages of their men, in order to escape financial ruin ; nevertheless, the laborer is entitled to a living wage. It is not merely a question as between himself and employer ; but as between himself and the community. He is working for the community rather than for the immediate employer, and the community

owes him a living wage. "Wages should not be regulated by prices, but regulate them," says Mgr. J. S. Vaughan, in "Faith and Folly," p. 286. The real fund from which the laborer's wage is paid, is the price of his product. If the present price is too low, it should be increased; but in no event should the minimum wage of the laborer be interfered with. Manufacturers might agree upon this, or if driven to it, the state might set a price, below which no firm or syndicate could sell. In the sharp conflicts of competition the laborer's living wage should in some manner or other be safeguarded.

"The capitalistic system is at fault; there will be no real progress until the community at large owns all inventions and machinery. When that time comes you will see better buildings, schools, etc., and more costly improvements; for the community will realize that these are set up, not for a privileged few, but for all."

"That the world's inventions should have become a private possession," says John Graham Brooks in "The Social Unrest," p. 169, "is to the Socialist the tragedy of modern industry." One cannot purchase inventions, however, as one would potatoes, so much for the bushel. If the reward were not very great there would be few persons cudgeling their brains to think out improvements. A greater drawback still in any co-operative community would be the unwillingness on the part of the community at large to grant inventors the required leisure or necessary supplies for experimentation. It would be impossible to prove to a considerable body of men at every step that the inventor is employing his time profitably. Again, how hard to get an invention adopted, when the adoption must be made by the vote of the community. The Socialist may say that it will be

plainly to their interest to install every species of life-saving machinery, since the benefit will be felt by the community directly in the shortening of the hours of labor. But it is just as true today that labor-saving machinery benefits society at large and yet the wage-working body look upon the introduction of new machinery as the coming into their midst of a new enemy. It is little to them that the commodities they are turning out may be cheapened in the process; it is a great deal to them to know that a certain proportion of their number will have to find a new occupation. Gronlund, in "Our Destiny," p. 113, says: "Our present trade unions will be the skeleton of the future social order." Such a forecast may appeal to organized trades, but as a matter of necessity the organization of society will have to be social thruout. To avoid conflicts between trades—one union striking against another, for instance—the industrial will have to be as centralized as the present military arm of the Government. Men and women will have to work when and where and how the Government directs. If improved machinery displaced a considerable number of workmen in one trade or place, they would have to be transferred to another.

In any event, it is fair to conjecture that from one cause or another the Socialist state would not be progressive. If improvements can be made only when the large, inert, indifferent, often, ill-informed community demands them by a majority vote, that state is going to move with the strides of a snail or of a crab. I presume the Mexican peon was told time and again that the use of the plow instead of a forked stick and of a threshing machine in place of a flock of goats tramping out the grain would give better results and cheaper products; but the old

ways are still good enough for him. When steam looms and spinning jennies were first introduced into England her 8,000 spinners and weavers went up and down the country burning every machine they could lay their hands on. How unwise they were in their opposition was shown when, in ten years 350,000 persons were employed in these same industries in place of 8,000. They were short-sighted, but no more so than many of their brother-workers are today.

Deprived of the advantage that machinery gives us we would be little better off than savages, for they possess as much muscular strength as we. While the Fiji Islander is still wallowing in the mire, ekeing out a precarious living on bananas and roots, with an occasional feast on "Long Pork," as he names his missionary delicacy, we have conquered want and become the masters of the earth. We owe our superiority to the intellectual power that has embodied itself in machines and scientific processes. As to new public buildings, costly improvements, great schools, museums of arts, etc., how hard to get the community at large to vote for them when the laborer will have to pay for them out of his present earnings. Remember, Socialism knows nothing of bonds, the cost of improvements cannot be spread over a number of years, as at present, to be liquidated by successive generations and largely thru indirect payments. The burden of direct taxation will make expenditures light, present ease will be preferred to a future greater ease.

LABOR'S SHARE

"If 1 per cent of the people of this country own 99 per cent of the wealth and the people who produce the wealth are poor, as the statisticians claim, are not the Socialists right in calling the capitalist system a system of plunder?"

It is well at times to distrust Socialist figures. The best authority in America on wealth statistics is Carroll D. Wright, our late Commissioner of Labor. Says Wright: "Some writers gathering their statistics from their minds, have alleged that 12 per cent of the families own 86 per cent of the wealth of the country." The questioner has made the disproportion still greater.

"Does not competition always lower wages?"

No, sometimes it raises wages. Supply and demand have much to do with wages. Competition cheapens goods; without it manufacturers, railway magnates, shop-keepers or builders, could enrich themselves inordinately: "competition is the active equalizing agent for profits, wages, rent and interest," says De Laveleye. It is true that oftentimes wages are reduced thru competition. Here it becomes an evil. Tho the community at large always gains by the cutting of wages where competition is sharp, still the wage should not be permitted to drop below the point that can yield a living to the adult laborer and his family. Here the state can intervene and fix a minimum wage. We would not, at all events, subscribe to Henry George's statement, made in "Open Letter," p. 61: "We deem unrestricted com-

petition to be as necessary to the health of the industrial and social organism as the free circulation of the blood is to the health of the bodily organism."

"Do you concede that everybody born into this world, which really was not his or her fault, is entitled to the best that the people produce, providing one is willing to do his or her share of the world's work?"

I cannot concede his title to the best that other people produce, but he is certainly entitled to all he produces himself. It frequently happens that he is deprived of his just share. While admitting with Mallock ("Labor and Popular Welfare") that the greater part of the product of modern industry is due to mental ability, I do not agree with his conclusion that labor gets more, instead of less, than it produces. It is the man of money rather than the man of brains who gets the lion's share. It was not the employees he meant when President Roosevelt said: "The trusts must keep their feet out of the trough."

"Nobody should enjoy superfluities so long as others lack the necessities."

You state a natural as well as a Christian truth, one that should not be lost sight of. It is in obedience to this truth that we build public homes and private institutions for the shelter of unfortunates; that churches and charitable organizations set aside funds and apportion visitors to seek out and aid the needy; that innumerable private benefactions are made.

This is good enough so far as it goes; but when people are able and willing to work they do not desire charity. It would be well if the truth expressed by the questioner should be carried over into business. Father

John A. Ryan in *The Catholic World Magazine*, April, 1903, but voices Catholic teaching when he says, "until he has paid his employees a living wage the employer is bound to refrain from all luxurious expenditure. He may with justice take from the product (only) a sufficient amount to maintain himself and his family in reasonable conformity with the standard of living that he has come to look upon as proper to his station. The non-essential needs of the employer cannot be put above the essential needs of the employee." He adds that "the best criterion of the compensation due is the effort and self-sacrifice employed; not the productivity (of the laborer)."

Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago, may be quoted in this connection. In "Democracy and Social Ethics," p. 3, she says: "The one test, which the most authoritative and dramatic portrayal of the Day of Judgment offers, is the social test. The stern questions are not in regard to personal and family relations; but did ye visit the poor, the criminal, the sick, and did ye feed the hungry?"

"Why should poverty exist in this land of ours, so plentiful in natural resources and with our enormous productive capacity, modern methods and improved machinery?"

Very little of real poverty does exist in the United States, and of what there is a good portion is self-inflicted. The poor that pour into this country from other shores are able to better their condition within a remarkably short period. If thru any cause, voluntary or involuntary, persons are unable to supply their own needs, the community cares for them, feeds and clothes them, nurses them when sick, educates and provides good homes for

orphaned children, etc. No one in this country need perish from want.

The questioner is undoubtedly right in saying there should be no poverty in a country so richly blest as ours. The report of the Secretary of Agriculture (November 30, 1907) states that for the first time in the history of the world one country was enabled to export agricultural commodities of home production worth more than a billion dollars. This was our record for 1907. The wealth production on the farms of the United States, including animal products, reached, this year, the unprecedented figure of \$7,412,000,000. From 1900 to 1907 our farms have produced \$53,000,000,000. Our manufactures for 1907 were expected to reach the stupendous total of seventeen billions.

J. C. Monaghan, Professor of Economics at Notre Dame University, tells us (The Toledo Record, November 30, 1907): "Of the 53,000,000 square miles of the earth's surface, we have (the U. S. proper) about 3,000,000; of the earth's 1,600,000,000 inhabitants, we have 85 to 90,000,000. Yet we produced in 1900, 22 per cent of the world's wheat, 30 per cent of its gold, 32 per cent of its coal, 33 per cent of its silver, 34 per cent of its manufactures, 35 per cent of its iron, 36 per cent of its cattle, 38 per cent of its steel, 50 per cent of its petroleum, 54 per cent of its copper, 75 per cent of its cotton and 84 per cent of its corn. Today we turn out 40 per cent of its coal and nearly 50 per cent of its steel and iron. We are piling up wealth at the rate of five to seven billions per annum."

"What has the average workingman to lose by voting for Socialism? He gets only a scant living now and hardly that; he cannot get less under any system."

He has his honor to lose if he vote for a system that is based upon spoliation. As to his living, that might be worse. It is said by F. O. Willey, in *Education, etc.*, that the average income in England is 90 cents per day; it was \$1.70 in Ohio in 1904. In 1903 the general laborer in the United States received \$0.1675 per hour, .1019 in Great Britain, .0797 in Germany, .0965 in Paris, .0549 in Belgium; stone masons, to quote only one of the skilled crafts, in the United States received .4579 per hour, in Great Britain .2078, in Germany .1328, in Paris .1448, in Belgium, .0845 (*Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor*, September, 1904). An investigation ordered by the House of Commons during the summer of 1907 showed the average wage of women in English factories to be \$1.68 per week; outside of the factories, \$1.08 per week. Cotton shirts were made for 12 and 16 cents a dozen. There is much room for improvement outside of America, even allowing for the lower cost of living in the European countries.

"Under Socialism the workman would enjoy all the fruits of his labor, which now are denied him."

Socialists promise him much more even than that; I have known them to say in Massachusetts, Ohio, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Kansas and Idaho that the workman is to get all that his labor, combined with somebody else's capital, will produce. It is an easy matter to make promises. Of course, the workingman should not be deprived of his just share, as sometimes happens.

No argument of the Socialist appeals with greater force to the toiler than that his labor and his labor alone has produced all the wealth he sees about him. R. S. Baker gives us a specimen of this appeal in *McClure's* for May, 1904. A Roman-collar Socialist, T. J. Hagerty, harranguing a crowd in Telluride, Colo., July 3, 1902, on

the occasion of the dedication of a monument to an Italian, martyred in the sacred cause of murdering non-union miners, said:

"That railroad is yours; the trains are yours; those large business blocks and office buildings down town that bring in big rents are yours; the mercantile stocks of goods are yours; the banks and the moneys there on deposit are yours; if you want them, go and take them."

If you were to ask the ex-priest whether he believes in pillage and robbery, he would likely refer you to his pamphlet, "Economic Discontent," p. 27: "Labor is the source of all wealth and the measure of all values;" and on p. 36: "Wealth is simply heaped up labor. It belongs only to him who has earned it by his own efforts. It cannot be transmitted to other generations." It is no more true that labor is the measure of all values (another of the propositions of "scientific" Socialism) than that labor is the sole factor in wealth production. When you purchase a piano you are not likely to inquire how many hours of labor have been expended upon it; quality of tone and kind of wood will determine your choice. A dull book may have cost its author many months of toil; you will not purchase it in preference to a sparkling volume, because it was longer in the making. It ought to be more valuable, however, according to the Socialist philosopher, since it contains more heaped up labor.

"That all labor does not produce wealth we admit: then there is no wealth produced in this instance."

Will you not admit then that labor is not the sole factor in producing wealth? If it were, all labor should produce wealth.

"That labor does not create all wealth we admit that

also. The sun and natural elements produce considerable wealth."

Add capital to sun and natural elements.

"Take potatoes, for instance; the farmer cuts his seed, furrows the soil, places the seed in the ground and covers it up with Mother Earth. He awaits Nature to do the rest. If the farmer had not placed the seed in the ground, the natural elements could not have acted in producing any wealth. When the potatoes have matured for harvest they are in the same state (unfinished product) as the coal in the pit, and cannot become wealth until labor has been applied to them. Without this application they would stay there until they decayed and became dirt."

Your example proves that capital is needed as well as labor. You need to have the seed, the soil in which to sow it, plow, harrow, horse, etc. These constitute capital. Labor is necessary for the marketing of potatoes, but is not the sole factor in producing this or any other form of wealth.

"Would it not be more just to have each laborer share fully the wealth produced by the multitude; in other words, each producing for all?"

If all would work harmoniously and to the best of their ability, it would be a fairer plan than the wage-system. The same would be true of any single store or shop. But as a matter of experience co-operative concerns are a disappointment. One must deal with men as they are. It may happen that labor will occasionally demand more than its just share; when, for instance, firms are driven to bankruptcy because their prices are lower than their expenses. One thousand six hundred

and twenty-nine companies failed in England in 1902 for \$321,352,270, and nearly two billion dollars were lost in the same country within the past ten years. Many of these failures were due, no doubt, to the excess of wages over selling price of the commodities that labor produced.

"When a working girl buys a pretty Easter bonnet, a good suit, shoes, etc., does she not do more to keep the wheels of industry going than if she dressed like a Fiji Islander and had a good bank account?"

If the consumption of goods were stopt business would stop; that is undoubtedly true. Yet money is needed at both ends, for production as well as consumption. Instead of spending all of her earnings for dress she might very profitably apply her little surplus earnings to the producing of goods. This she does when she places her savings in bank; for her money does not lie there idle; but is invested by the banker. They say that a dollar invested creates at least six dollars of new business. Capital creates labor as well as labor capital and additional laborers mean increased consumption. A good deal of foreign money is still invested in the United States. If we can take that over we will spend the income at home and that will make the wheels of industry spin still faster. Moreover, a bank account is a good thing in itself, a friend in need. The statement has been made by an eminent economist, that 95 out of every 100 of our working people have a share in production as well as in consumption; in other words, are both laborers and capitalists.

"Lincoln said: 'The wealth of the world is the result of labor.' Speaking about style, you said: 'It is

impossible to tell the difference between a wage-earner's daughter and the daughter of a rich man.' Why should not a wage-earner's daughter be dressed as nicely as the daughter of a rich man; is it her fault that her father is helping to produce the wealth of the world; but for which he often gets scarcely enough in return to feed and clothe his children as he would like?"

The wage-earner's daughter will not try to wear as costly fineries as the daughter of the rich man, if she has good sense. If she possesses an ounce of feeling for her father she will not ask him to spend his hard-earned wages upon mere vanities. Fine clothes are not essential to happiness. Many persons in moderate circumstances make themselves miserable because they try to ape the rich, and many of the rich are discontented because they know others who are richer.

"Is it not a fact that the laborer produces about \$2,000 per year and only gets on an average \$450 per year?"

It is not a fact. According to the figures of the census for 1900 the gross value of all manufactured and mechanical products for the entire country was \$13,014,287,498. The number of wage-workers was put at 5,136,802. Dividing the one by the other we get a per capita product of \$2,451. The per capita wage on the other hand, was \$437.50. Dishonest or ignorant agitators present the former figure as the net annual product or earnings of the wage-worker, whereas it represents the entire gross value, including cost of materials, freight, fuel, superintendence, office help and other items of expense. Says the "American Federationist" for July: "This gross value (\$13,014,287,498), is arrived at by a constant duplication of value, owing to the fact that the

finished products of one plant become the material of some other factory, in which they are changed into some higher form and again included in the value of products. The total cost of partly manufactured and original raw material used, according to the same census, was \$7,348,144,755. This latter sum subtracted from the gross value leaves \$5,666,142,743 and this is the net value added to the original raw material." Dividing this by the total wage hands we have \$1,065 as the net product per capita. Allowing for superintendence, freight, fuel and one or two other items of cost, the average net yearly products per laborer is only about \$929 instead of \$2,451. The total profit of the manufacturer was only \$1,909,485,604, less than 15 per cent of the entire gross product. Nor does this represent a clear profit, since the cost of selling the goods, bad debts, internal revenue and other taxes, interest on borrowed capital, etc., need to be deducted.

"Admitting that the shop-keeper does not receive 85 per cent; but the exploitation of labor takes place before the goods enter his store. Labor only receives about 17 per cent: who gets the 83 per cent? If, as you claimed, capital only gets 6 per cent, how do you account for so many millionaires?"

The first part of this question is answered above. Millionaires are made in various ways; some thru the steady accumulation of profits upon extensive investments; some thru patents, some thru rich strikes in minerals or oil; some thru the rise in land values; some thru the crushing of labor and perhaps most thru honest or dishonest speculations. The stock-manipulators grow rich, not upon the earnings of poor laborers, but upon

the better-to-do, who are possessors of more money than brains.

F. O. Willey in "The Laborer and the Capitalist," p. 200, is my authority for saying that capital received about 6 per cent and labor about 94 per cent of the joint earnings of capital and labor for the year 1894. He says: "As a rule capital only asks and only expects 6 per cent for its share." A good many capitalists are not getting so much as that. Lawson estimates that capital is getting less than 5 per cent.

"Socialists contend that labor is not properly recompensed. Watch the course of the wage-earner's dollar. He produces five dollars of value and receives therefor one dollar in wages—robbed of 80 per cent of his product at the start. But that would not be so bad, if he could exchange the dollar he does get for a full dollar's worth of the product of some other laborer. Can he do it? He takes his dollar and goes to a store to exchange it for a dollar's worth of groceries or meat or clothing. Does he get the same amount of groceries, meat or clothing that other laborers received a dollar for producing? Nothing of the kind; he is robbed fore and aft."

The questioner is convinced that he has been made the victim of a double injustice: because, in the first place, the joint product of capital and labor was not turned over to him in its entirety as his wage for the labor performed and in the second place, because he now cannot buy that joint product of capital and labor for the wage which he received. The injustice, if it exists at all, is single and not double; the crimes of capitalism should not be made to work overtime. The plaint is not unlike Proudhon's, that the laborer cannot escape poverty until he is able to purchase with his wage what he has produced—an im-

possible demand, unless the laborer provides the tools and raw material, in which case the full product is conceded to him.

It is not true, of course, that labor is robbed of 80 per cent of its product, as has been shown before. When the store-keeper puts the selling price of his goods above the cost price he is not robbing his customers, as many Socialists maintain. They are merely paying him the equivalent of a wage for his service to them. There will and must be expenditures, connected with the distribution of goods from producer to consumer, under any imaginable arrangement.

"What in your opinion should be the price of an article?"

That can only be determined by the value which the community places upon it. Socialists say the value of an article depends exclusively upon the amount of labor employed upon its production. If this were true we should pay as much for a painting executed by a pottery artist as for one made by a Raphael.

"Is there such a thing as a just profit?"

Certainly. Does so simple a proposition need to be proved?

"Do you think it right for the sons of the rich to enjoy all that the earth and their fellowmen can give, and the sons of the poor to starve and die looking for work?"

How many starve and die looking for work? I think the children of any father have a right to enjoy what he leaves them, provided it was acquired honestly. Why should they be required to divide their possessions with the children of thriftless or spendthrift parents?

There is another side to the picture: a reasonable amount of work and hardship is good for a young man. It is the sons of the very rich, with their means for satisfying every whim and with their lack of serious purpose, that are handicapped most grievously. How many sons of famous fathers have profited by their seeming advantages?

"If you accosted a slave merchant, say in Africa, and demanded the release of his human wares and he were to answer you in the words of Leo's Encyclical 'these slaves are only my wages in another form,' could you 'deprive him of the liberty of disposing of his wages and thus of all hope and possibility of increasing his stock and bettering his condition?'"

When you refer to men unjustly deprived of their freedom, know that they are not and cannot be made legitimate objects of barter.

"You ridicule the idea that two and one-half hours of labor per day by all able-bodied men will supply all human wants."

I do. Human wants being what they are it will take just about as much work under any conceivable industrial system to supply them. If the 5 or 6 per cent that goes to capital were divided equally among the laborers drawing the 94 or 95 per cent, the addition would be hardly perceptible; at any rate, it would not shorten the hours of labor to any considerable extent. How many hands would the farmer require to harvest his crop, if two and one-half hours constituted a day's work? How many women would be needed to take care of a single home?

Socialists are lavish in promises. A good part of the laborer's earnings, they tell us, four-fifths according to

their calculations, goes to the capitalists. As there will be no capitalists then, they argue that this four-fifths will be added to the laborer's compensation. The Rev. Thomas McGrady quotes (*Socialism and Labor Problem*, p. 25) an Austrian scientist, Prof. Theodor Herzka, of Vienna, as saying: "The laboring men of Austria would have to work one hour and twenty-two minutes and thirty seconds per day of a 300-day year in order to support in ease and comfort the 26,000,000 inhabitants of Austria, supplying food, clothing, fuel, a five-room house, medicine, furniture and utensils." From this McGrady concludes that the American workmen can earn the equivalent of \$8 per day with only two hours of labor. C. H. Kerr and T. F. Hagerty also fix the labor day at only two hours; while Wilshire admits that not more than three hours of work will be needed. Wilshire, Hagerty, McGrady, Kerr and Herzka are heartless labor-drivers, according to Jules Guesde, the official leader of the Socialist party in France; for he has discovered by careful calculations that in the Co-operative Commonwealth not three or two hours, or even one hour and a half, will be required to procure the necessities of life; but only eleven minutes of honest labor. "As this is as low an offer as humanity is likely to get," remarks *The Independent*, "we suggest that it be accepted before it is withdrawn, provided, of course, that said party of the first part can give sufficient bonds for the fulfilment of this proposition." Victor Cathrein, S. J., gives it as his deliberate judgment (*Socialism*, p. 304) that "Socialism, instead of producing abundance of all necessities of life with little toil, would soon be forced to lengthen the present work day in order to prevent famine." State production is notoriously wasteful and less efficient than private production.

The prospect of \$8 for a work-day of two hours would appeal mightily to the laborer could he be convinced of its feasibility. If, let us say, two and one-half hours constituted a day's work and \$8 were paid for this work, the 20,000,000 wage-earners of the United States could make \$48,000,000,000 in one year. As the total wealth of the country was only \$94,000,000,000 in 1900 there would be a 50 per cent dividend all along the line. If only we could get hold of their secret! There would be a yearly sum of \$3,000 to every family of five. If we decided to get busy and lengthened the work day to ten hours, each family would earn \$12,000 per year, and the wealth of the country would be doubled in one year. If the Socialist figures held out, the United States, under Socialist direction, could buy out the rest of the world in a very short time. No wonder some enthusiasts think us shortsighted in not adopting Socialism instantler.

"Carroll D. Wright, compiler of United States labor statistics, says that two and one-half hours per day, spent by men in some useful occupation, would suffice to enable the whole country to live in comfort and luxury."

Carroll D. Wright, in a letter dated April 24, 1905, wrote me that he never made the above statement; that he does not believe it to be true, whoever made it. "I have run across this statement several times," he says, "and it seems to be a Socialistic point, and as the originator of it evidently wanted some authority, he deliberately and viciously laid it to me."

"Our country produces a surplus. Witness our exports. If this surplus were kept at home, could we not shorten our labor hours considerably?"

Yes; the labor hours of a big number of workers

could be shortened thereby considerably, enabling them to spend ten hours in bed and fourteen in visiting and drinking tea. Our exports pay for our imports, and what is over and above is distributed to employers and employed—chiefly to the latter. Reduction in the hours of labor cannot but result in a diminishing of wealth. Statistics show that labor is diverting toward itself an ever-increasing proportion of the country's wealth. It is frequently said that the cost of living is mounting higher than the rise in wages. The July, 1907, Bulletin of Labor controverts this and proves by investigations, made in the principal manufacturing and mechanical industries of the United States, that the wage-workers, tho working fewer hours, could purchase one per cent more food in 1906 than in 1905, and 2.4 per cent more compared with the average for the years from 1890 to 1899. The average wages per hour in 1906 were 24.2 per cent higher and the price of food 15.7 per cent higher than for the average between 1890 and 1899. If there had been no reduction in hours the increase in purchasing power in 1906 would be 7.3 per cent higher than for 1890-1899.

“Under the present system the capitalist gets the entire benefit from improved machinery; under Socialism the laborer will derive the entire profit in a shortening of the day's work.”

Both manufacturer and inventor profit by improved machinery; also the laborer, insomuch as his work is made lighter and, to some extent his day shortened. The chief beneficiary, however, at present is the consumer who thru cheapened production can buy more commodities than formerly. Competition prevents the capitalist from getting the entire benefit from improved machinery.

"Why do manufacturers sell for less than half in foreign countries?"

If any of them can at a profit sell for less to foreign countries than at home they ought to be deprived of the tariff benefits they now enjoy.

"Must we not have men to dig sewers, and do the dirty and hard work? Are not these men paid the lowest wages?"

Yes to both questions. The more intelligent, dexterous and industrious workingmen do not continue at such work very long. For them there is usually a chance to go up higher.

"If over-production is caused by under-consumption and under-consumption is caused by low wages, what wages should the laborer have to prevent over-production or under-consumption?"

Wages are not and cannot be regulated by the question of over-production or under-consumption. The latter is a consequence of high or low wages; but the remuneration of labor is determined ultimately by the wealth produced. Several factors combine in the production of wealth; if much wealth is produced and the division is equitable, the toiler's wages will be increased; if less wealth is produced, the wages will decrease. Wages are said to increase when their purchasing power increases: hence higher wages do not necessarily imply increased prosperity. Where there is a real increase it remains true, of course, that more products are likely to be consumed; yet in the most prosperous times there may be what Professor Seligman (Wilshire's, February, 1903) calls, "not over-production, but a mistaken production."

From all that has been said, it would certainly not appear wise to replace the present order with Socialism. Society has ills that need to be attended to, but Socialism has not the remedy. Socialism would exalt the material and degrade the spiritual; would put matter above mind. Socialism, moreover, would give us extreme paternalism in government. Society would have to be made over into a huge machine and each of us might aspire no higher than to become a cog in one of its many wheels. This machine would eliminate individuality and the human intellect would necessarily grow stunted. The ideal condition of such a society would be a dead level of mediocrity. Liberty would wholly disappear. No; Socialism is not for us Americans; nor for any other who would remain free and untrammelled.

COMMENTS ON "QUESTIONS OF SOCIALISTS"

"Illuminative and adequate answers."—*Ave Maria*, December 2, 1905.

"No priest or educated layman should be without this book."—*The Catholic Tribune*, March 22, 1906.

"A very thoro topic index adds to the value of the book."—*Catholic Union and Times*, January 18, 1906.

"Catholics generally would do well to inform themselves by means of this little book."—*The Catholic Columbian*, December 23, 1905.

"The Socialist must be met on his own ground and Father Kress supplies the weapons to meet him."—*The Catholic Universe*, November, 24, 1905.

"Father Kress lays bare the sophistry of Socialistic philosophy. The answers are straightforward and easily understood."—*The Good Counsel Magazine*, January, 1906.

"A splendid brochure. . . . It will do great good, I am sure."—(Rev. Dr.) W. J. Kerby, Professor of Sociology, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

"The discussion covers the whole ground of live, up-to-date Socialism. and it makes a book of intense interest to all who desire to be abreast of the thought of the day."—*The Missionary*, February 6, 1906.

"It is well conceived and wrought, interesting, timely, clearcut, bien documenté. It cannot fail to do great good."—(Rev.) F. P. Siegfried, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, St. Charles' Seminary, Overbrook, Pa.

"Rev. William S. Kress is better equipped to discuss this subject than any other man. . . . His is the best common-sense explanation of Socialism and its relations that has ever appeared in print."—*The Gateway*, June, '06.

"Before seeing this booklet we would not have thought it possible to compress in so small a compass such extensive information on the intricate topic of Socialism. . . . The book, spicy thruout, would make interesting reading even apart from its vital importance."—*The Messenger*, January, 1906.

"Undoubtedly the best book that has been published in recent years on Socialism is that of which the author is the gifted and scholarly Father W. S. Kress. . . . Father Kress is an eminent authority upon the subject on which he writes and his book should be in the hands of every Catholic, who takes an intelligent interest in public affairs."—*The Pittsburg Observer*, December 7, 1905.

"Father Kress ably sets out the true nature of Socialism and shows how it is a danger to society, the home and the individual, because based upon false and destructive principles. Every American, man or woman, should study Socialism and be prepared to refute its specious sophistries, which have already deceived so many well-meaning people in this country."—*The Catholic Messenger*, Davenport, December 2, '05.

"In view of the rapid advance of Socialism among the workingmen both here and in Europe, we are very glad to welcome Father Kress' concise statement of their difficulties with his answers. The position of the Socialists is stated with clearness, force and fairness; while the answers to their questions are comprehensive, vigorous and satisfactory. It is of the utmost importance that this subject should be thoroly mastered by everyone who would keep abreast of the times. The day is not far distant when the country at large will have to grapple with this problem and propose effective remedies for the evils which press upon the mass of toilers. Father Kress' book will prove an effective help in gaining the information necessary to grasp the situation and to pass an impartial verdict upon the thorny problems of industrial life."—*Donohue's*, May, 1906.

"Popular treatment is not its chief merit. Its thoroughness and wealth of material make it a valuable aid for everyone engaged in discussion with Socialists. Its author is well known in different parts of the country as a powerful lecturer and dreaded opponent of Socialism. . . . These questions are profoundly interesting. . . . The answers of Father Kress give proof of a thoro acquaintance and of extensive reading of Socialist publications in the United States, enabling him to substantiate his statements with ample quotations from American Socialist writers. . . . Here we have a cheap publication, easily understood by any workman of average intelligence and enabling him to hold his own against the persuasions and objections of Socialist agitators. . . . Ought to be freely distributed. . . . We strongly recommend to county federations and to Catholic pastors to put this book into the hands of Catholics who are in danger of being perverted."—*The Catholic Fortnightly Review*, February 1, 1906.

"The impression quite too prevalent, even with persons who should know better, that Socialism is simply collectivism, a politico-economic theory advocating the placing of all productive goods in the hands of the state, is, it may be hoped, gradually disappearing as the true meaning of the Socialistic movement is becoming more apparent thru the platforms of its political propaganda and the authoritative statements of its leading representatives. Socialism is coming to be better known as a philosophy of life, the expression of a world-view, as atheism and materialism forcing its way to popular acceptance under the guise of a method of social reform.

"This interpretation of Socialism has been ably set forth and discust by various Christian writers, notably by Cathrein. The same is done in a less formal and didactic, tho no less effectual and perhaps even more practical, way by Fr. Kress in the present pamphlet, *Questions of Socialists*. The author modestly places the value of his work in the questions. The reader, too, will certainly appreciate the same element. On the other hand, he will prize no less the very large amount of information and suggestion conveyed thru the answers which are drawn to a great extent from the authoritative sources of Socialism. Being popular in style, pleasant to read, up-to-date, reflecting every phase of the Socialistic mind, the pamphlet should be of great service."—*The Ecclesiastical Review*, February, 1906.

INDEX

Addams, Jane	190
Adler, Felix	16, 121
Abbot, Leonard D.	128, 131
Abbot, Rev. Lyman	159
Ambrose, St.	89, 90, 91
American Federationist	196, 197
American Federation of Labor	170, 171
American Socialists, oppose religion, 105, 109-111, 131 ; on marriage, 102, 123, 127-131 ; on schools.....	139
Appeal to Reason, 23, 30, 66, 69, 74, 75, 76, 77, 83, 110, 112, 119, 122, 123, 136, 140, 166, 171.....	172
Arbitration	178, 179
Assassinations	143
Atheism, 24, 25, 30, 31, 41, 60, 63, 74, 97, 109, 111, 113, 114	
Augustine, St.	89, 91
Austrian Socialists, oppose religion, 114, 116 ; on schools	134
 Bandlow, Robert	34
Basil, St.	89
Bax, Ernest Belfort.....	109, 124, 125
Bebel, August	31, 77, 89, 91, 109, 113, 118, 122, 124
Belgian Socialists, oppose religion, 98, 115 ; on schools,	134
Benham, G. B.	165, 166
Berger, Victor L.	24, 65, 76, 118
Bernstein, Ed	36, 37
Bismarck, Prince	112, 162
Bonaparte, Charles J.	17
Boddlers, Republicans, 64, 79 ; Democrats, 64 ; Social- ists	64, 65
Brewery Workers, The	170

- Brockton, Mass.28, 158, 166
 Brooks, John Graham84, 168, 169, 185
 Brown, William Thurston110, 111, 128, 129
 Brunn, Program114, 134
 Brussels Convention 134
 Bulletin of Labor192, 203

 Camp, Maxime du 166
 Capital, 48-50, 78, 81, 93, 94, 168; to be confiscated....75
 Capitalists, 34, 50; 81, 93, 94, 143, 178, 195; small, 82, 83
 Carnegie, Andrew 169
 Cavour 97
 Carpenter, Edward 122
 Casson, Herbert N. 65
 Cathrein, Victor, Rev....38, 39, 45, 48, 99, 100, 154, 201
 Champion 166
 Chicago, platform, 12, 13, 113; property, 50, 84; con-
 vention, 127, 135; homes, 146; milk carriers.... 180
 Children, wards of the state, 137-139, 160; in factories, 141
 Christianity, to be improved by Socialists, 22, 94; in-
 fluence66-69, 175
 Christian Socialists11, 21, 22, 100
 Chrysostom, St.89, 90
 Church, confiscation of its wealth, 22, 23; and state,
 62; attitude on interest, 87, 88; benefit of, 96, 102-
 104, 106, 162; luxury, 100, 101; and progress, 102,
 103, 105; and economics 145
 Class struggles35, 36, 38, 177
 Clemenceau 112
 Clement, Pope89, 91
 Clergy, Catholic oppose Socialism, 17-19, 23; and poli-
 tics, 21, 64, 96, 101; and the poor....29, 96, 98, 102
 Cleveland Plain Dealer 142
 Commune, Paris, 165, 166; Cartagena, 165; Seville.... 165

- Communist Manifesto** 35, 77, 122
Competition, ruinous, 34, 120, 145, 184; **helpful**, 144,
 147, 148 188
Confiscation 75-95, 22, 23, 58
Co-operative Commonwealth, 33, 45, 63, 66, 67, 77, 83,
 106, 111, 118, 154-162, 172, 181 201
Corbin, Mrs. Caroline 126
Crises, industrial 39, 152

Darboy, Archbishop of Paris 165, 166
Darwin 42, 43
Debs, Eugene V. 15, 47, 92, 93
Declaration of Independence 59, 60, 61, 63
De Laveleye, E. 14, 43, 150, 164, 179, 188
Deville, Gabriel 124
Diaz, President Porfirio 103
Dietzgen, E. 40
Dividends, when not just 56, 190
Dresden Convention 114, 134

Earle 127
Education 134-141
Economic Determinism 37, 38, 56, 57, 74, 110
Ely, Richard T. 43, 148, 149
Employers' Liability 172, 173
Engels, Frederic 34, 38, 40, 41, 45, 106, 123, 126
English Socialists, oppose religion, 109; **schools** 134
Environment Determines Morals 56, 67, 74
Evolution of Moral Law 58-63
Erfurt Program, 34, 44, 109, 113, 114; **on education**... 134
Ethics 56-74

Fabian Society 78
Family, 120-133; **primitive forms** 34, 35, 64

- Fichte 91
 Free Love 121-127
 French Socialists, oppose religion, 112, 115; on schools,
 134, 135

 George, Henry 31, 53, 54, 81, 158, 188
 German Socialists, oppose religion, 109, 112; on schools, 134
 Gladstone, W. E. 68
 Godkin, Edwin Lawrence 160, 161
 Goldstein, David 21, 108, 126
 Gompers, Samuel 169, 171
 Gotha Platform 44, 109, 138
 Government, less, 46; land, 81; ownership, 142, 152, 159, 182
 Grayson, Victor 125
 Greenbaum, Leon 65
 Gregory, Pope 89
 Gronlund, Lawrence 37, 137, 186
 Grosscup, Judge Peter S. 46, 47
 Guesde, Jules 201

 Hagerty, Rev. T. J. 70, 79, 110, 111, 192, 193, 201
 Halle, convention of 109
 Happiness, a moral quality 28, 55, 56
 Hayes, Max S. 170
 Hearst, William Randolph 36
 Hegel 149
 Herald, Social Democratic, of Milwaukee.....
 40, 41, 65, 93, 118, 127
 Herron, Professor George D.....
 84, 89, 108-111, 122, 128-131
 Herzka, Theo 79, 201
 Hyndman, H. M. 77, 103, 125

- Increment, unearned 51, 52
 Independent, The 85, 139, 165, 176, 201
 Independent Workers of the World 170
 Intemperance 15, 16, 57
 Inequality, not intrinsically wrong, 25, 44; greater equality desired, 25; must exist 26, 27, 45, 104
 Inheritance, law of, is just 69-71
 Interest, exorbitant 87, 88
 International Socialist Review 108, 122, 128, 131
 Inventions 179-181, 185-187
 Isaiah 67, 68
 Italian Socialists, anti-religious 112

 Jena 174
 Jerome, St. 89

 Kautsky, Karl 34, 127, 128
 Kerby, Rev. William J. 23, 43
 Kerr, Charles H. 32, 35, 39, 77, 79, 93
 Ketteler, Archbishop von 22
 Kirkup, Thomas 18

 Labor, not sole value in exchange, 48, 49; does not produce all wealth, 78, 80; checks, 118; unions, 168-187; labor's share, 182-185, 188-205; day 79, 182, 200, 201
 LaMonte, R. R. 74
 Lassalle, Ferd 97
 Lawson, Thomas W. 94
 Lecky 78
 Le Gallienne, Richard 129
 Leo XIII.
 22, 52, 54, 55, 62, 70, 81, 85, 88, 94, 100, 112, 183, 200
 Leroy-Beaulieu, Anatole 97

- Liebknecht, William24, 36, 83, 111, 116
 Lincoln, Abraham58, 195
 Linz Congress 116
 Lynch, Daniel 170
- Madrid Convention 116
 Maily, William129, 130
 Mallock, William H. 189
 Marriage120-123
 Marx, Miss Eleanor 126
 Marxist37, 40
 Marx, Karl, 22, 34, 36, 40, 41, 45, 48, 49, 73, 74, 77,
 84, 100, 110, 112..... 149
 Materialism22, 35, 37
 Materialistic Conception of History38-41, 110
 Matthew, St. 67
 McGrady, Rev. Thomas57, 79, 110, 201
 Mendel, Abbot 42
 Milwaukee, 30; boodlers, 65; Socialists, 76; homes, 145, 146
 Monaghan, J. C. 191
 Morris, William77, 103, 124
- New State, The142-167
 New York Central 37
 Nitti, Francesco39, 89
 North Carolina 184
- Owen, Robert11, 138
 Ownership, private, of land, 51-53, 70, 80, 81, 85, 86,
 89-91; lucrative property, 70, 78, 79, 91; of natu-
 ral resources, 54, 84; public 142
- Paulsen, Professor 47
 Pearson, Karl 125

Pennsylvania Railroad	37
Pernerstorfer	116
Philosophy	33-55
Poverty, and Providence, 27, 28, 55, 96; false friends, 99, 100, 107, 108; help, 102, 103, 107; exagger- ated	190, 198, 199
Priority of Possession	51, 54
Profit, right to	50, 82
Property, right of, not absolute	91, 92
Prostitution, causes of	63, 64
Proud'hon	198
Referendum Vote	142
Religion, 96-119; enters into labor questions, 18; needed for society	28
Renan, J. Ernest	43
Representatives, Socialists	163, 164
Revolution, not reform	15
Richardson, N. A.	69
Robbery, admission, 23, 58, 75-78, 84, 113, 115, 116; justified, 60, 69, 78-82, 86, 87, 89, 93	193
Rodbertus, Karl	34
Roesler, Rev. P. A.	64
Rogers, Thorold	169
Roosevelt, Theodore	68, 70-73, 173, 189
Ryan, Rev. John A.	190
Schaeffle, A.	84, 109
Schools, 106, 134-141; no parochial or private	134-137, 140
Seligman, Professor	204
Simons, A. M.	37, 77, 84
Sinclair, Upton	36
Slavery, chattel, 58; under Socialism	107

- Socialism, definition, 11; opposed by Catholic clergy, 17-19, 23; not purely economic movement, 18; tactics, 11-32; philosophy, 33-55; ethics, 56-74; confiscation, 75-95; religion, 96-119; family, 120-133; education, 134-141; new state, 142-167; labor unions, 168-187; labor's share.....188-205
- Socialists, their remedy, 12; method of acquiring control, 13, 14; exaggerations, 21; falsehoods, 21, 22, 24, 29, 56, 58, 77, 92, 99, 117, 135; slippery, 24, 33, 77, 81, 83, 84; anti-religious, 24, 30, 31, 74, 108-119; engendering class hatred, 68, 73, 107, 145; in power164-166
- Society, its constitution34, 35, 62
- Spalding, Bishop J. L.13, 30, 78, 144, 145
- Spanish Socialists, against religion.....112, 116
- Statistics, false188, 196-198, 202
- Strikes, 176, 178, 179, 180; political.....173, 174
- Tactics11-32
- Tax, single, 52-54; progressive, 70, 71; income..... 152
- Thompson, Rev. Carl D.24, 117, 127
- Thompson, Robert Ellis 12
- Tours Program115, 134, 135
- Trine, Mrs. Ralph Waldo 130
- Trusts.....141, 144, 148, 177, 189, 204
- Unemployed175-177
- Unions, labor168-187
- Untermann, Ernest29-31, 41, 77
- United States Steel Corporation.....37, 81, 82
- Usury, forbidden by Church87, 88, 103
- Utopia47, 162
- Vail, Rev. Charles A.77, 88, 93, 94
- Value, 199; exchange and use, 48, 49; surplus, 39, 48, 49

Vandervelde, Emile	77, 98
Vaughan, Msgr. J. S.	71, 185
Vienna Congress	134
Volkszeitung, Leipsic	114
Volkszeitung, New York	111
Voltaire	28
Wage, living, 56, 183-185, 190, 203; influence upon character, 56, 57; system, 30; compared with other countries	192
Washburne, Minister to France	166
Wayland, J. A.	66, 83, 171, 172
Wealth	50, 152, 161, 162, 191, 193-195, 204
Weitling	46
Wells, H. G.	123, 139
Wentworth, Franklin H.	74, 130, 131
Western Federation of Miners	170
Willey, Freeman Otis	15, 16, 39, 147, 192, 198
Wilshire, H. Gaylord	16, 75, 77, 173, 201
Woman	102, 120, 132, 133, 195
Wood, Henry	15, 154, 178
Workday	79, 182, 200, 201
Wright, Carroll D.	12, 16, 19, 104, 175, 183, 202

MAY 3 - 1934

